



**CHRISTIAN
NON-PACIFISM**

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Christian Non-Pacifism

A Study of the Mind of
Christ concerning War

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Christ concerning War

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INTRODUCTION.

NON-PACIFISM is a sadly negative title, and negations do not readily arouse enthusiasm or lend themselves to passionate advocacy. Christian non-pacifism, however, negates no more than the absolute and unconditional renunciation of war to which thorough-going pacifism commits itself, and it claims all the positive content and power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Christian non-pacifist loves peace and hates war. He urges that every effort should be made to remove the causes of war and to secure the solution of all international disputes by methods of conciliation. But he believes that even peace may be bought too dear, and that aggression may assert itself in such fashion that it can be effectively resisted only by war or by preparedness for war. There are many varieties and degrees of pacifism, but the pacifism which the Christian non-pacifist rejects is that which pledges men to refuse to support or take part in any war of the future. Such pacifism involves non-resistance to aggressive evil, and the Christian non-pacifist opposes it, primarily because he believes that unconditional non-resistance and submission to aggression are contrary to the mind of Christ, at variance with the principles of Divine providence

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and judgment revealed alike in history and in Scripture, and inconsistent with the comprehensive requirements of the royal law or principle of love.

This book had its origin in the work of the *ad hoc* Committee appointed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1935, with instructions "to consider in the light of Christ's teaching the whole question of peace and war, and the practical means whereby the Church may lead the nation in the way of peace." During the deliberations of the Committee the writer contributed a paper which confined itself to the first part of the Assembly's instruction, concentrated attention upon the teaching of Jesus Christ, and endeavoured to discern His mind about war by the study of the written record of His words and deeds, His teaching and example, His life and ministry. A section of that paper is included in a volume entitled 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War' (Student Christian Movement Press), which contains the Committee's Report to the General Assembly of 1937, and other portions of the paper are incorporated in the Report itself. Acknowledgment is hereby made of the permission readily granted to utilise the material in this fuller treatment of the subject. One should perhaps add that it was completed before the latest developments in the international situation emerged to give fresh point to some of its contentions.

A distinguished member of the Committee, who did not agree with the argument of the original paper, was good enough to describe it as the first statement of the non-pacifist position that he had seen which based itself consistently on the New Testament. This book also claims to rest its argu-

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ment on the New Testament. It does not profess to be a comprehensive study of the whole subject of Peace and War or even of Pacifism. It concerns itself mainly with the teaching of Jesus Christ, endeavours—with what measure of success others must judge—to be unprejudiced in its examination of the relevant passages of the Gospels, and keeps steadily in view the practical question whether Christianity forbids or permits participation in war.

Frequent reference is made, especially in Chapters III. and IV., to the writings of Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, for reasons which he will appreciate. He 'led' for the pacifist group in the deliberations of the Church of Scotland Committee, and contributed to them a paper which is included in 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War' (Appendix A.). In that paper, and more fully in 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism,' he deals exegetically with certain passages of the Gospels which are frequently cited in the pacifist controversy. Canon C. E. Raven refers approvingly to Professor Macgregor's expositions both in Volume VII. of the Reports of the Oxford Conference (1937), 'The Universal Church and the World of Nations,' and in his most recent book, 'War and the Christian,' and practically adopts them without comment as his own. A critical examination of some of Professor Macgregor's expositions and inferences has therefore been included in this book.

The conclusion reached by the writer can be stated either positively or negatively. In its negative form it is expressed in the words of a motion submitted to the General Assembly of 1934: "The

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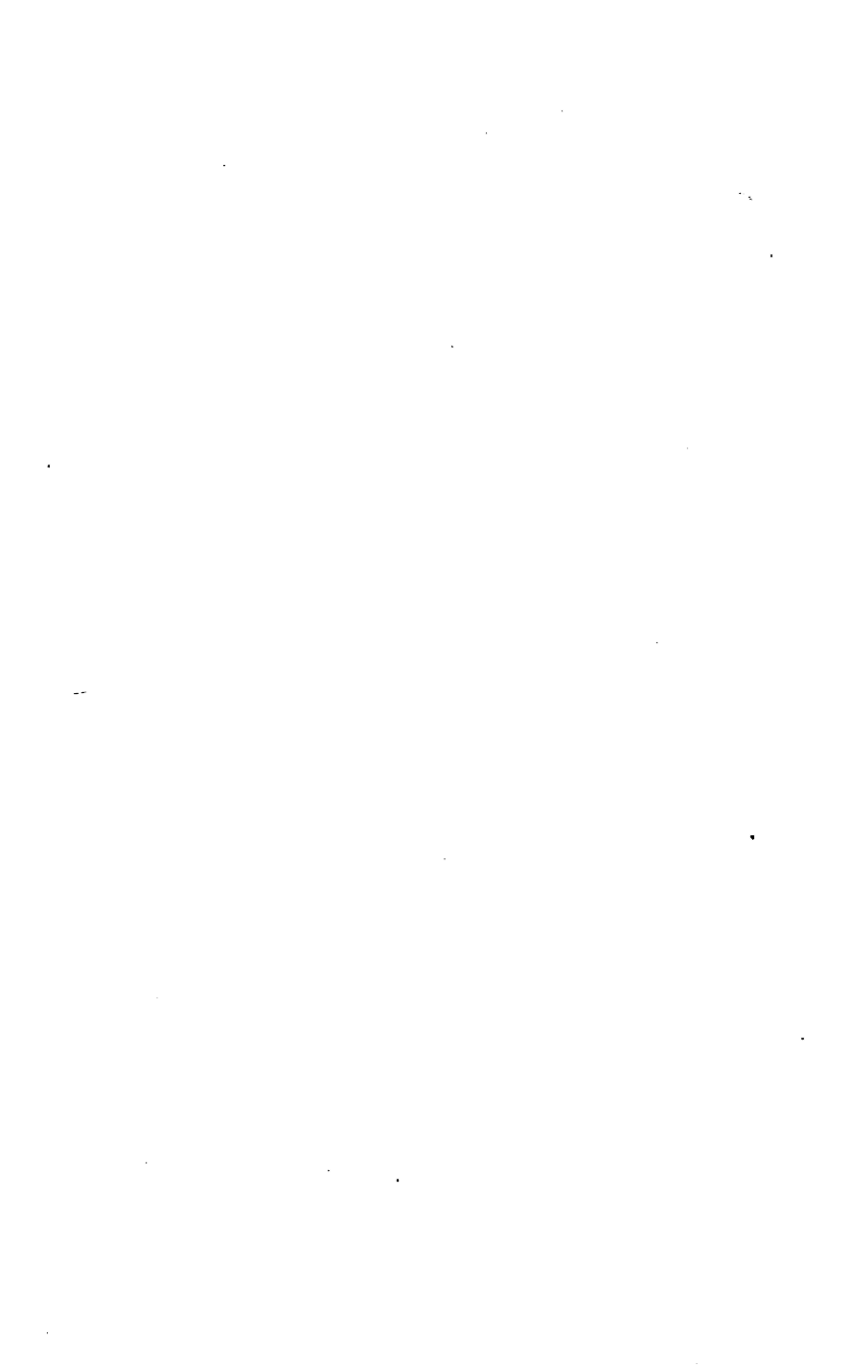
General Assembly, while abominating war, cannot accept the contention that loyalty to the mind of Christ as set forth in the Gospel requires members of the Church to refuse participation in war at all times and under all circumstances." In its positive form it is that circumstances are conceivable, and may arise in the world of to-day or to-morrow, in which it would be the duty of Christian men and nations to resist the challenge of aggressive evil by force of arms.

If a critic should point out that this book, despite all the arguments used, does not venture to justify or defend war, I would reply that in my judgment war is indefensible from the Christian standpoint. It is an anachronism in civilised society, detestable in its methods, and disastrous in many of its results for victor and vanquished alike. In its essence it is unchristian and an offence to Christendom. What I am concerned to defend and justify, as consonant with Christian teaching and principle, is participation in war under certain conditions. The distinction here drawn between war and participation in war, at which some will scoff, seems to me a real distinction, the obscuring of which causes much pacifist argument to miss the mark. Christian non-pacifist and Christian pacifist may agree in their estimate of the nature and consequences of war, and may agree that war is "contrary to the mind of Christ." It does not, however, follow that participation in war, such reluctant participation in war as the Christian non-pacifist contemplates, is necessarily or invariably contrary to the mind of Christ. Even the statement that war is contrary to the mind of Christ may require

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qualification. Jesus Christ must hate war. Yet if it is His will that aggressive evil should be resisted, and if armed defence is the only effectual mode of resistance to armed aggression, it cannot be contrary to His mind that Christians should take part in defensive or protective war.

War ought not to be. War never occurs except as the result of sin among men. But in this imperfect world the powers of evil are persistent, arrogant, and strong, and an aggressive nation, reverting to pagan ideals, may thrust war upon a weak neighbour or an unwilling world. How ought such war, or the danger or threat of such war, to be met? Here for Christians is the point at issue in the pacifist controversy.



CHAPTER I.

THE POINT OF CONTROVERSY.

THE issue between pacifism and non-pacifism is not wholly a religious one. Pacifism may be debated from the standpoint of philosophy or sociology. It may be advocated or denounced in view of its effects upon personal character, social order, national stability, international fellowship, and the preservation of civilisation. For Christian people, however, the pacifist controversy is primarily a religious controversy, and it is here considered from the point of view of Christian teaching. The practical question to which an answer is urgently demanded by many, both within and without the Christian Church, is whether Christianity permits or forbids participation in war. The Great Powers have formally renounced war as an instrument of national policy, but the signature of what were supposed to be binding pacts and treaties has not prevented certain nations from attacking their neighbours and inflicting upon them something which the rest of the world regards as indistinguishable from war. Armaments are increasing. Many who desire peace fear that war is imminent. And many who are concerned with Christian duty wish to know what

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loyalty to Jesus Christ would forbid or permit or require if war should come.

Christian non-pacifist and Christian pacifist are in agreement over a great part of the field, and the ground of separation between them is narrow, though its foundations lie deep. Both acknowledge the authority of Jesus Christ and desire to be wholly loyal to His will. Both abominate and condemn war, the non-pacifist as heartily as the pacifist. Both are urgent in the advocacy of peace and of such positive measures for its promotion as the amendment of economic conditions, the removal of political injustice, the reduction and control of armaments, the development of international friendship and international law, and intensive effort to win the hearts of men and women everywhere to the love of peace and of the Prince of Peace. Christian non-pacifist and Christian pacifist upon the whole agree in their view of the mind of Christ regarding war. They differ in their view of the mind of Christ regarding participation in war. The Christian pacifist, while he may not challenge "the moral use of force," absolutely renounces war, and maintains that for the Christian participation in war under any circumstances involves disloyalty to Jesus Christ and is "sin." The Christian non-pacifist holds that "the moral use of force" may legitimately be extended to include war, and that loyalty to Jesus Christ, so far from unconditionally forbidding participation in war, may justify or require it. The Christian non-pacifist lays stress upon the fact that Christian duty is always immediate, the duty of the moment at which a Christian has arrived. He contends for

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liberty of action and decision in a sinful and changing world, not for liberty of allegiance, not for liberty to limit his allegiance to Jesus Christ in accordance with the dictates of convenience or immediate temporal advantage, but for liberty to determine his attitude towards any particular war in view of the circumstances under which it arises, though always in loyalty to Jesus Christ. He maintains that the fundamental and ruling principle of Christian ethics is the principle of love ; that Christian virtue is attained, not by unthinking obedience to law or to any set of rules and regulations, but by the willing and rational application of the principle of love to the varying circumstances of individual and national life ; and that the moral situation in which the individual must apply that principle is often rendered complex by the conflicting desires and apparently conflicting interests of different members of the community. He holds that the moral quality of an action depends in no small measure upon its consequences, and that the Christian is entitled—nay, is in duty bound—to consider both the very complicated requirements of the principle of love in a disharmonious society and the probable consequences of the various courses of action which are open to him, before deciding what action he should take in a situation of moral perplexity. The Christian must always be prepared, as Jesus Christ was prepared, to suffer the consequences of right action, which may be defined as action in accordance with the will of God ; but neither the Christian nor any other man can know that an action or a course of action is righteous until he has considered what its consequences may be.

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To the non-pacifist the universal negative of pacifism appears inconsistent alike with the realities of the modern international situation and with the fundamentals of Christian ethics.

Pacifism is sometimes defined in a way which obscures the point of controversy. The pacifist position, as stated by pacifists in 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War,' begins with the statement, "By pacifism we mean the overcoming of evil with good." The definition is one which the non-pacifist cannot accept as accurate. What is distinctive of pacifism is surely its insistence upon non-resistance or its condemnation of violent resistance to aggression and evil and its absolute prohibition of participation in war. Non-pacifists are just as much concerned about the overcoming of evil as pacifists can be. Non-pacifists believe that evil can be overcome, in any adequate or conclusive sense of the word, only with good. But evil cannot always be overcome, as the experience of Jesus Christ Himself attests. How then is the Christian to *meet* the evil which cannot be overcome, at least for the time being? How is he to meet the evil of persistent and resolved aggression or the evil which scorns reason, resists goodness, and defies love? Pacifism holds that non-resistance or non-violent resistance, inspired by redemptive love and accompanied by positive sacrificial endeavour, is "the only truly Christian reaction to evil" and the only Christian way both of 'meeting' and of 'overcoming' evil. Christian non-pacifism, on the other hand, believes that redemptive love is the only means of overcoming evil, but rejects non-resistance as a universal prescription for meeting

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evil. Christian non-pacifists are at one with Christian pacifists in urging the necessity of active goodness and sacrificial, redemptive love and unwearied effort for the redemption of the most hardened sinners, and in many a circumstance of life they advocate patient submission to injury as well as non-retaliation; but they hold that at times non-resistance or the refusal to use physical force, so far from overcoming evil, may give new opportunity to evil, so far from changing the evil heart or will, may confirm and encourage evil men in their evil way. The definition of pacifism as "the overcoming of evil with good" seems to the non-pacifist simply to confuse the issue and to evade the point of controversy. A non-pacifist's definition is hardly likely to commend itself to pacifists, but one may venture to suggest that pacifism would be more accurately and distinctively defined as '*the meeting of evil with non-resistance*' or as '*the attempt to overcome evil with non-violent resistance.*' The pacifist would doubtless wish to define the non-resistance or non-violent resistance which he advocates as being inspired by redemptive love; and the non-pacifist need not object to the addition of such words, though he would regard them as superfluous in a definition of *Christian* pacifism.

Pacifists protest that pacifism must not be identified with 'passivism,' since pacifism contemplates and urges the most strenuous and active endeavour in the cause of peace. The protest is justified, although the rigid non-resistance which many pacifists advocate does involve passivism at critical moments. But pacifists cannot be allowed to claim that active interest and strenuous effort in the

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cause of peace are either a monopoly or a distinctive mark of pacifism. Christian non-pacifism is just as active as pacifism can be, along the lines of action which its advocates believe to be in accordance with Christian wisdom and the will of God revealed in Jesus Christ. The late Canon Sheppard was reported to have said in an interview just after his election as Lord Rector of Glasgow University: "As pacifists we are often accused of advocating a policy that is purely negative, what is called anti-war, but really what we advocate is a conference to be called immediately to consider outstanding national grievances which would appear to contain the causes of further international conflict. The sort of conference we always advocate would make possible the setting up of a fact-defining commission before which the evidence of needs and grievances should be given in order that the relevant circumstances might be known to the world. The Peace Pledge Union is not just a society that refuses to fight, but a body with a perfectly definite constructive programme as an alternative to the nightmare facing Europe and the world." There is, however, nothing distinctively pacifist in willingness to enter into international conference. The post-war world held conference after conference. Non-pacifist and pacifist are at one in advocating appeal to reason and goodwill instead of brute force, and in supporting methods of conciliation for the settlement of international disputes. Where they differ is in regard to the action which may be taken when conference is refused by an aggressor nation or when methods of conciliation fail. The pacifist declares that in such a situation he will

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refuse to take part even in a war of self-defence, and he believes that by pledging himself now to the most absolute renunciation of war he makes a contribution to the cause of peace. The non-pacifist refuses to take any such action, *inter alia*, because he believes that its most probable effect would be to encourage aggression, to increase the danger of a world-wide war, and to weaken the foundations of justice, liberty, and brotherly concord, on which alone a lasting peace can be built.

Pacifism is always inclined to arrogate to itself the sole title to Christian virtue. In the early days of the modern controversy pacifists complained that they were treated as heretics and outcasts, and they then claimed simply that pacifism should be recognised as a possible interpretation of Christian duty. Now, however, the claim that pacifism alone is consistent with the spirit and the teaching of the Gospel is quite explicit. "The way of the Cross," with non-resistance as one of its essential elements, is described as "the only truly Christian reaction to aggressive evil." The Church of Scotland Committee's Report may be accurate in saying, "All that the Church is concerned with to-day, and all that pacifists can ask, and do ask in this concern" (*i.e.*, in connection with the attitude of the State), "is that the rights of Christian conscience be respected, and that those who believe in all honesty that they cannot fight because of their conscientious scruples should not be branded by the State as cowards or as traitors to their country. Beyond that the Church is not asked even by pacifists to go." This may be all that pacifists ask of Church or State in relation

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to the claims of the State upon its citizens, but they ask much more of the Church in relation to pacifism itself. The statement of the pacifist position by pacifists in 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War' uses language which in effect brands non-pacifist Christians as traitors to Jesus Christ. The non-Christian nation, it is said, may act virtuously in resisting evil by means of violence, may even be in duty bound to engage in war, since it knows no better means of meeting and overcoming aggression: and the non-Christian citizen is presumably in the same case: but for the Christian participation in war is "sin."

Let the pacifists speak for themselves. "For us the Christ . . . has made war—whether it be called aggressive or defensive, whether it be waged for an 'unjust' or a 'just' cause—for ever, morally and spiritually, an impossibility. If in this we are in error, we have misunderstood the Gospel of Christ, our preaching, not on war merely but on life as a whole, is gravely misleading, and the Faith by which we live is vain."¹ "If seeing Christ and His way we were not able to affirm straightway and with decision that so flagrant and gigantic an evil as war was utterly and always condemned by Christ, then it would seem to us that Christ was useless as a moral guide for humanity. If there be any religion or system of ethics which condones so great an evil or reckons it permissible or unavoidable, we would feel obliged to renounce that religion or ethical system." "The way of the Cross is always open . . . The Christian then is never shut up to a situation in which he is obliged

¹ 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War.'

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to do wrong. War is never thrust on him. Aggression does indeed necessitate some response from him ; if he respond by the way of war, that is his own positive act of sin." Such pronouncements are illuminating. Christian pacifism professes to base its pacifism upon Christianity ; but the effect of the statements just quoted would appear to be that if Christianity did not involve pacifism, pacifists would have no use for Christianity, that if they thought that Christ did not condemn participation in war, they would have no use for Christ.

In face of what may justly be termed the arrogance of pacifism, non-pacifists may take courage from the knowledge that distinguished teachers of moral philosophy can still be found who are alive to all the horrors of modern warfare and all the implications of the modern situation and yet reject pacifism on ethical grounds. They may also note with satisfaction, after being compelled by the exigencies of controversy to adopt so negative a descriptive title for themselves and to stand for long on the defensive against the assaults of pacifism, that the writer of a recently published and very acute study of this vexing problem has chosen for the title of his book the challenging question, ' Can Christians be Pacifists ? ' ¹

The pacifist cannot be allowed to evade awkward questions regarding the present duty of the Christian, as he sometimes tries to evade them, on the ground that they are hypothetical. The universal negative of the pacifist regarding participation in war seems to many to rest on a hypothesis ; and if he is to be logical or consistent, he must be prepared to maintain

¹ W. M. Watt.

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his thesis as applicable when conditions are most unfavourable to it, and to defend his universal negative as binding under all imaginable circumstances. A purely defensive war is at least imaginable, and Abyssinia's war of resistance to Italian invasion could hardly be described as other than defensive; but the consistent pacifist must hold that Jesus Christ forbids His disciples to take any part in a purely defensive war, and that Abyssinia—or the Emperor of Abyssinia as a Christian—"sinned" by offering armed resistance to Italian aggression. The tension which arose between Italy and Britain as a result of the rape of Abyssinia and the action taken by the League of Nations was still acute when at a meeting of the Church of Scotland Committee the following question was put to the pacifist group: "If Italy had attacked the British Fleet in the Mediterranean a few weeks ago, what would have been the Christian duty of Britain? What would have been the Christian duty of the officers and men of the British Fleet? of the British Government? of the Christian citizens of Britain? The members of the group were exceedingly unwilling to answer that question, but finally one consistent pacifist replied that in his opinion the Christian course of action would have been for the Fleet to offer no resistance and allow itself to be sunk or captured. The answer, it is plain, failed to provide with any adequacy for the position of the men and officers of the British Fleet or for the general requirements of the situation or for the interests of international morality. The speaker might have replied that in his opinion no nation should maintain a navy or an army, and

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that meantime no Christian should enlist or serve in either ; but he would still have been pressed to state what would have been the Christian duty of Christians already enlisted in the navy in the circumstances specified, and what would then have been the Christian duty of the British Government or the Christian citizens of Britain, the world being what it is and nations being what they are to-day. The speaker volunteered the further opinion that if such a sacrificial manifestation of non-resistance were given by a powerful nation like Britain, it would so impress the world that men of goodwill from all nations would gather together in friendly conference and devise a pacific and Christian solution of the world's problems. He failed to observe that the sacrificial manifestation of non-resistance would be given in the first instance not by the nation as a whole, and not by the members of any pacifist group, but by the armed forces of the Crown. He also omitted to explain by whom the friendly conference would be summoned, when or where it would assemble, what would happen before it could be assembled, and by what pacific means the triumphant aggressor, flushed with conquest, would be persuaded to submit his cause to the judgment of an international conference which had assembled to seek a *Christian* solution of the situation. Obviously, the speaker's additional opinion was based on a hypothesis, was indeed mere conjecture. Moreover, he advocated non-resistance even in the extreme case specified, not because of any hopes which he might entertain as to its probable or possible consequences, but because in his opinion no Christian could at any time or under any circum-

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stances be justified in taking part in war, no matter what the consequences of non-resistance might be. "Damn the consequences" is, however, an immoral principle, for Christians as well as non-Christians, if consequence be a vital element in the moral quality of action. The question which the Christian ought to put to himself, when faced with the aggressive evil of the world and the possibility or imminent danger of war, is twofold. What would Jesus Christ have me to do at this moment of time at which I have arrived? And what would Jesus Christ have my nation, and me as a responsible member of my nation, to do in the existing world-situation? The pacifist holds that the answer to that question can never be that Jesus Christ would have the Christian to bear arms or take part in war. But that is the very point at issue in the pacifist controversy as a controversy among Christians.

CHAPTER II.

THE APPEAL TO SCRIPTURE.

ANYONE who desires to consider the question of Peace and War in the light of Christ's teaching naturally turns first to those Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments which have been described as "the supreme rule of faith and morals," especially to the New Testament, which is the Christian document, and very specially to the four Gospels, which contain the only reliable record of the words and deeds, the life and ministry, of Jesus Christ Himself.

The superior authority of the New Testament should be clearly recognised and frankly admitted. It is a simple matter of historic fact that the Old Testament is a book of pre-Christian writings. Anyone who wishes to know the teaching of Jesus Christ or to discern His mind must turn to the New Testament, and particularly to the four Gospels. The Old Testament contains the promise of the Christ and anticipations of the truth which was to be revealed, but the authentic portrait of Jesus Christ and the record of His teaching belong to the New Testament. Moreover, Scripture is the record of a progressive revelation. All its parts cannot

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claim the same measure of inspiration or equal moral authority. The books of the Old Testament were written to meet the requirements of a pre-Christian situation. While the Old Testament contains much which is of permanent value in the realm of religion and ethics, it can be neither regulative for Christian morality nor determinative of Christian duty. "The law was given by Moses ; but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." Only a Christian document can be authoritative in the sphere of Christian faith and conduct. Jesus Christ did indeed declare that He had come not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil ; but He did not hesitate to set His own sayings over against the sayings and writings of the greatest of those who had preceded Him, and fulfilment with Him often meant transformation. Upon questions of Christian morality, therefore, appeal should not be made to the Old Testament, as to an independent or final authority. Since the pacifist controversy of to-day is a controversy regarding *Christian* duty, it is dangerous in this debate to base an argument upon particular sayings or incidents of the Old Testament or even upon the general trend of its teaching. The Old Testament can always be used to illustrate the teaching of the New Testament, and the dissimilarities of the two can be as instructive as their points of agreement ; but in the pacifist controversy the citation of the Old Testament for any other purpose than that of illustration should be both cautious and limited.

The New Testament, upon the other hand, is the deposit of the historic faith of Christianity.

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Therein we "learn Christ," and are "taught truth in Jesus." Any teaching, whether doctrinal or ethical, which professes to be Christian must be based upon it. A considerable measure of agreement has now been reached as to the evidence of the New Testament in the pacifist controversy. The Church of Scotland Committee, for instance, upon which almost all varieties of pacifist and non-pacifist opinion were represented, appeared to agree in the following conclusions: (1) that the mind of Jesus Christ on war cannot be determined by appeal to any one of His recorded sayings, or to any group of His sayings, considered in isolation from the general body of His teaching; (2) that the sayings of Jesus Christ recorded in the Gospels convey no *specific* teaching regarding war or regarding Christian duty in time of war; (3) that decision as to the practical implications of His teaching must be reached by consideration of its underlying principles and His own practice and example; and (4) that the books of the New Testament other than the Gospels, while they illustrate the application of Christian principles to life and contain more detailed teaching regarding social righteousness, add nothing to our knowledge of the mind of Jesus Christ regarding war or participation in war. The inference from these conclusions would appear to be that in the pacifist controversy appeal to the letter even of the New Testament or to particular sayings of Jesus Christ is of limited value, that neither pacifism nor non-pacifism can claim to rest its position upon certain or generally accepted interpretations of Scripture, and that the profuse and indiscriminate citation of passages from the

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New Testament may be as unprofitable and as misleading as the citation of passages from the Old Testament.

It is a feature of recent pacifist propaganda that it abounds in quotation and cites verses from almost every book of the New Testament. Professor Macgregor, for instance, prints seven pages of passages from the New Testament as an appendix to 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism.' He groups the passages together under titles which indicate their content, and it is only fair to note that he expressly disclaims any intention of suggesting that all the passages quoted have any immediate application to the question of Peace and War. His purpose doubtless is to show the general trend of the New Testament teaching and to produce a cumulative effect. But since his whole book is an argument in favour not of peace but of pacifism, the result is apt to be the production of a cumulative effect of an illegitimate kind ; for these multiplied quotations, while they illustrate the Christian attitude towards war and peace, are not relevant to the point at issue between Christian pacifist and Christian non-pacifist. Out of the sixty-nine passages which fill his seven pages there are not more than two which raise any difficulty for the non-pacifist. Advocates of the two opposing views are in agreement over a large part of the scriptural field, and the point of disagreement is precisely the point on which both parties are agreed that the New Testament gives no specific guidance. To print this mass of scriptural quotation may serve a useful purpose by instructing those who have given little heed to the peaceableness of the teaching of

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the New Testament as a whole, but to print it as an appendix to a book advocating pacifism can hardly fail to create misunderstanding in some minds as to the nature and effect of the scriptural evidence on the subject.

If the practical question regarding participation in war which at present agitates so many minds could be found in the Gospels, as a question explicitly put to Jesus Christ and distinctly answered by Him with a simple 'yea' or 'nay,' the plain man would be satisfied that no dubiety as to Christian duty remained. Those who read the Scriptures with understanding, however, do not expect to find in the teaching of Jesus Christ any such pronouncement upon a single point of conduct, and both pacifist and non-pacifist scholars are agreed that "Jesus has given no specific guidance on war." That does not mean that He has given no guidance on war or that the Gospels contain no teaching on the subject. It does mean that no saying of Jesus Christ recorded in the Gospels explicitly commends or condemns military service, and that no saying of Jesus Christ recorded in the Gospels explicitly prohibits or enjoins participation in war. Our Lord has neither laid down a general rule upon the subject nor given precise instructions as to the course to be followed in particular circumstances. The conclusions reached alike by pacifist and by non-pacifist as to the requirements of Christian duty in the event of war, or in face of its possible outbreak, are reached not by the simple acceptance of sayings which unambiguously forbid or permit participation in war, but by way of interpretation and inference. Both conclusions are

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based upon the evidence of the Gospels, but the evidence is not simple or direct. Both are derived from the teaching and example of Jesus Christ, but both are derivative.

The fact is one which requires to be emphasised. Many who take part in public and private debate regarding the Christian attitude to war, including not a few who have earned distinction in other fields than those of theological or religious study, persist in the assertion that Scripture is certainly upon their side, and that no dubiety about Christ's teaching can be entertained by any honest mind. The very fact that the same assertion has been made on both sides of the controversy is evidence of its unsoundness. One could wish to see what is the considered verdict and agreed conclusion of pacifist and non-pacifist scholars printed in bold type at the close of every inquiry into the evidence of Scripture upon this subject :

"JESUS HAS GIVEN NO SPECIFIC GUIDANCE ON WAR."

CHAPTER III.

EXAMPLES OF EXEGESIS.

" BOTH sides to the present controversy must plead guilty to the unfortunate practice of quoting isolated texts, often wrested from their context ; and in view of the constant and light-hearted misapplication of certain well-known passages, it will be well to deal with them, before entering upon a more positive and constructive study of the New Testament evidence." With this sentence Professor G. H. C. Macgregor prefaces the chapter of 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism' in which he examines various texts and passages which are frequently quoted in the pacifist controversy. Naturally enough, as an advocate of the pacifist position, he chooses instances of misinterpretation or misapplication by militarist and non-pacifist commentators, and some of the expositions which he criticises are indefensible. On the other hand, his own treatment of certain passages is far from satisfactory. It shows how even a careful and scrupulous expositor, when engaged in controversy which is concerned with vital issues and touches the springs of passion, finds difficulty in allowing full weight to evidence which bears against his

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own contention and stating the counter-argument without some measure of distortion.

Expository notes upon the passages examined in this chapter will be found in Appendix A. of 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War,' those contributed by Principal W. A. Curtis in Section I., and those contributed by Professor G. H. C. Macgregor in Section II. For the sake of clearness and convenience, Professor Macgregor's comments are quoted in full.

I. "RENDER UNTO CÆSAR THE THINGS THAT ARE CÆSAR'S, AND UNTO GOD THE THINGS THAT ARE GOD'S." (Mark xii. 17.)—"I agree," writes Professor Macgregor, "that Jesus certainly gave a qualified recognition to the State as He knew it, and therefore presumably to the reign of law. But Mark xii. 17 needs more careful exegesis. A good comment is Loisy's: . . . 'Jesus emphasised the lawfulness of political power and of tribute much less than the insignificance of these things in comparison with the kingdom of heaven. . . . Let the things of this world be esteemed according to the smallness of their value, and let these duties be discharged as there is necessity; but let men know that the greatest thing lies elsewhere, in fidelity to the heavenly Father. It would be to falsify the thought of Jesus to suppose that the debt to Cæsar is on the same plane, or that it has the same absolute and definite character, as the duty towards God.' At most, Jesus argues that civil obedience does not necessarily clash with the obedience due to God, if the claims of the State¹ do not violate con-

¹ In 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism' the phrase used is, "do not invade the sphere of duty owed to God."

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science. And even such a gesture of acquiescence in the claims of the State loses much of its importance when we remember that Jesus' view of the Kingdom of God¹ implied the speedy downfall of Rome, not by man's agency but God's. Why then quibble over so small a matter as the payment of a tax? The head of Cæsar on the coin stamps it as his own. Well, then, give him his own—for the time being!"

Now, however excellent Loisy's comment may be as a statement of Christian doctrine, one must protest that as an exegesis of this particular saying it is anything but 'good.' It obscures the positive effect of one half of our Lord's saying, which implies that the citizen has a duty towards Cæsar as well as a duty towards God, and bids him fulfil both duties. Moreover, our Lord's words, as they stand, neither assert nor imply anything about the relative importance of the two duties.

Professor Macgregor's own comments are no more convincing. They are put forward, it must be remembered, as an exegesis of this particular passage, presumably as part of the 'more careful exegesis' which he has desiderated. Even if their doctrine were unexceptionable—and it appears to incline dangerously towards the theory of 'interim ethic' against which he elsewhere warns his readers, and which would be destructive of his main line of argument—it cannot be derived from the saying under consideration. The teaching which this saying conveys is positive, not something which

¹ In 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism' the sentence runs, "implied that the rule of Rome was doomed to destruction."

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'at most' is negative. Moreover, by what method of sound exposition can one import into these words of our Lord any reference to the impending downfall of Rome or any limitation of civil obedience to an intermediate and transitory period of time?

What our Lord here teaches is surely that men have duties towards Cæsar and duties towards God. Every consistent Christian will agree that his duty towards God takes precedence of his duty towards Cæsar or the State, if the two conflict. But the two do not always conflict. A man can often serve God in serving his country. The question at issue in the pacifist controversy is whether a man's duty towards God forbids him to render military service to the State. When a nation is threatened with the wanton invasion of its territory, ought not its citizens to take up arms? If their country is invaded, ought they not to resist invasion by force of arms, unless indeed their nation has been hopelessly in the wrong? If the pacifist replies that his conscience forbids him to defend his country by recourse to war, no matter how good his country's cause may be, the query at once presents itself whether his conscience is rightly instructed. Our Lord's words suggest questions which are vital alike for pacifist and for non-pacifist to-day: (1) What is the Christian's duty towards Cæsar or the State, if war is thrust upon his country by tyranny or ambition or some other form of aggressive evil? (2) What is the Christian's duty towards God, in view of the demands of Cæsar or the requirements of the State, when war is threatened or has broken out? Professor Macgregor's exegesis is open to

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objection, not because it fails to answer these questions, to which our Lord Himself gives no explicit answer, but because it does not seem even to recognise that the questions are inherent in this unchallenged utterance of Jesus Christ.

2. "OUR LORD'S INTERVIEW WITH THE CENTURION." (Luke vii.)—"I agree," writes Professor Macgregor, "that 'there is no evidence that Jesus urged the centurion to renounce his arms,' though admittedly this, too, is an argument from silence. But surely this incident, and also the Baptist's reply to the soldiers (Luke iii. 14), have, with their purely negative evidence, been made to carry greater weight than is legitimate—*e.g.*, in the Westminster Confession (Chap. xxiii.), where they are the leading proof texts for the thesis that 'Christians may . . . wage war upon just and necessary occasions.' The positive evidence is that in the one case Jesus 'marvelled' to find faith in so unlikely a quarter (chiefly, no doubt, because the man was a heathen); and that in the other case the Baptist replied, 'Do violence to no man.' As a guide to Jesus' own mind on this question, can it be quite without significance that the testimony of the earliest Christian apologists is consistently pacifist and hardly contemplates the possibility of a Christian disciple participating in military service?"

Professor Macgregor is justified in arguing that the Westminster Confession made the incident carry greater weight than is legitimate, using a negative to establish a positive, treating the absence

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of any injunction by our Lord to the centurion to renounce his arms as equivalent to a declaration that Christians may wage war. But does not Professor Macgregor go to the opposite extreme by allowing insufficient weight to our Lord's attitude towards this man and his profession? The fact that our Lord did not bid the centurion renounce his arms is significant, in face of the pacifist contention that any participation in war is contrary to the mind of Christ. Our Lord bade the women taken in adultery "go, and sin no more" (John viii.). He spoke no comparable words to the centurion. Moreover, a reference to the testimony of the earliest Christian apologists regarding military service—whatever that testimony may have been, and differing opinions are held both as to its content and its absolute value—does not appear to be strictly relevant when the matter under consideration is our Lord's speech or action upon a particular occasion, regarding the meaning of which the modern scholar is as competent to pronounce an opinion as the early apologist. All that is significant in the incident, so far as the pacifist controversy is concerned, is that our Lord, like John the Baptist before Him, did not condemn the profession of the soldier. John the Baptist, when asked by certain soldiers what they must do, replied, "Do violence to no man, neither exact anything wrongfully; and be content with your wages": he neither condemned their occupation nor suggested that they should abandon it, and the violence which he bade them avoid was not the violence inherent in warfare. Our Lord commended the centurion and spoke no word that hinted repugnance to his

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profession. The significance of the fact is not weakened by the argument, which Professor Macgregor uses in 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism,' that "it was the centurion's faith, not his calling, which Jesus commended," or by the argument that "Jesus marvelled to find faith in so unlikely a quarter." The non-pacifist has no right to over-estimate the significance of the fact that our Lord Himself did not utter any condemnation of the profession of arms, but the pacifist has no right to minimise it. Pacifist comment on the incident becomes quite unconvincing when it suggests that our Lord marvelled (in part, at least) to find faith in a soldier. According to the text of the Gospels our Lord marvelled not at the manifestation of faith by a soldier, but at the quality of the faith manifested by that particular soldier, not because He found faith in a quarter rendered unlikely by the man's profession or occupation, but because He found in a Gentile faith so much greater than He had found in Israel. Moreover, one cannot but marvel and regret that Professor Macgregor should put forward another argument which he advances in 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism': "The question of war hardly arises here. The Roman soldiery in Palestine corresponded rather to a police force." The functions discharged by the Roman soldiery in Palestine even during our Lord's ministry were far other than the functions of a police force, as we understand the term to-day. Surely the simple fact is that the centurion was a soldier, liable to be required at any moment to render full military service and to engage in all the activities of war.

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3. "BUT NOW, HE THAT HATH A PURSE, LET HIM TAKE IT, AND LIKEWISE A WALLET: AND HE THAT HATH NONE, LET HIM SELL HIS CLOKE, AND BUY A SWORD. FOR I SAY UNTO YOU THAT THIS WHICH IS WRITTEN MUST BE FULFILLED IN ME. AND HE WAS RECKONED WITH TRANSGRESSORS: FOR THAT WHICH CONCERNETH ME HATH FULFILMENT. AND THEY SAID, LORD, BEHOLD, HERE ARE TWO SWORDS. AND HE SAID UNTO THEM, IT IS ENOUGH." (Luke xxii. 36-38.)—"I agree," writes Professor Macgregor, "that, with reference to the context 'we cannot cite Jesus as repudiating the armed protection which was the common right of every law-abiding man.' Dr Curtis's exegesis of the passage is certainly possible." After making some critical comments on that exegesis, which are apt and fair, he sets down his own conclusion: "I therefore prefer the explanation that the words, if authentic, were spoken by Jesus in what Dr F. C. Burkitt calls a mood of 'ironical foreboding.' 'It is impossible to believe that the command to buy a sword was meant literally or seriously.' The words are a half-playful warning that disaster is ahead; but the disciples, as so often, misunderstand, then Jesus, in despair at their literal-mindedness, breaks off the conversation with the common formula, 'It is enough.' Even if it be true that Jesus does not repudiate the right of armed protection when 'beyond the reach of the law,' need we assume that where a Livingstone was content to go armed only with the Gospel of love, the Master Himself and His companions would rely upon 'two swords'?"

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Here again Professor Macgregor's own contribution to the exegesis of the passage obscures or ignores certain basic facts. It is the case, as he points out in 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism,' that the passage occurs only in one Gospel, and that many modern scholars suspect it. It is possible, as he suggests, that the words, if authentic, were spoken by Jesus in a mood of ironical foreboding. The fact, however, remains that according to the third Gospel the disciples were carrying two swords, and the narrative conveys neither hint nor suggestion that our Lord disapproved of their action. All four Gospels attest the fact that Peter at least carried his sword to Gethsemane. It is true again that our Lord rebuked and forbade Peter's attempt to defend Him from arrest by the use of the sword, though one should note that the proverbial saying with which according to the first Gospel He emphasised His prohibition, and upon which Professor Macgregor lays considerable emphasis in 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism,' is also found in one Gospel alone (Matt. xxvi. 52; cf. John xviii. 11). Professor Macgregor, however, uses an unfortunate phrase when he suggests that the non-pacifist interpretation of the passage requires one to suppose that the Master and His company would "rely upon two swords." No intelligent non-pacifist supposes or suggests that the Master relied or proposed to rely upon swords, whether few or many. In certain circumstances two swords might be sufficient to protect a man or a company. In other circumstances, in such circumstances as those in which the Master and His company found

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themselves in Gethsemane, twenty swords might have been inadequate protection. Moreover, according to the first Gospel (Matt. xxvi. 53, 54) our Lord in that hour declared Himself unwilling to summon even the angelic legions to His aid. He believed that death was appointed for Him and at hand, and He was prepared to suffer it without resistance. No question of reliance upon swords arises. But certain facts which are of importance in the pacifist controversy emerge from the narratives: that the disciples carried two swords on their journey to Jerusalem, presumably with their Master's knowledge and consent; that they retained the swords when they accompanied Him to the Upper Room, where He broke for them the bread which was the symbol of His body, so soon to be broken on the Cross; and that one sword at least was still in their possession when they followed Him to Gethsemane. These are facts which require explanation, if the fundamental contentions of pacifism are correct, and it is surely a defect in Professor Macgregor's exegesis that he offers no explanation of these facts and practically ignores them. The implication of his exposition is that our Lord condemned the use of the sword by His disciples, from which one should infer that our Lord condemns participation in war. Our Lord did refuse to allow the sword to be used in His defence in Gethsemane, as He had earlier refused to seek the fulfilment of His Messiahship by worldly means or to associate Himself with those of His fellow-countrymen who planned to recover national independence by means of war; but He did not condemn the carrying of swords by His disciples, presumably for their own

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defence. No unconditional condemnation of the use of the sword or of violent resistance to aggression can therefore be deduced from our Lord's words in the Upper Room or in Gethsemane. Of course approval of the use of lethal weapons by individuals in self-defence does not necessarily involve approval of participation in war, not even of participation in a defensive war ; but if our Lord approved the use of lethal weapons by His disciples in their own defence, the fact is damaging to the pacifist contention that violent resistance to aggression is contrary to "the redemptive way of the Cross." Pacifism condemns any and every participation in war, upon the ground that even defensive war involves the use of violence and the taking of life, and that both are inconsistent with the Cross ; but the man who draws the sword or uses its modern equivalent in his own defence meets aggressive evil with violent resistance, and may slay the aggressor ; and what is permitted to the Christian in his own cause cannot be forbidden to him in the cause of his nation or of humanity. If even in Gethsemane our Lord did not forbid His disciples to carry the sword of self-defence, one must doubt the soundness of the pacifist argument that the Cross forbids the Christian to offer violent resistance to aggression or to engage in defensive war.

CHAPTER IV.

INFERENCES AND COMPARISONS.

IN the previous chapter some examples of pacifist exegesis were subjected to examination. The present chapter is concerned with what may be called inferences from the evidence of the Gospels rather than exegesis proper, though the inferences are drawn from particular incidents or sayings.

JESUS THEREFORE, KNOWING ALL THE THINGS THAT WERE COMING UPON HIM, WENT FORTH, AND SAITH UNTO THEM, WHOM SEEK YE? THEY ANSWERED HIM, JESUS OF NAZARETH. JESUS SAITH UNTO THEM, I AM HE. . . . WHEN THEREFORE HE SAID UNTO THEM, I AM HE, THEY WENT BACKWARD, AND FELL TO THE GROUND. (John xviii. 4-6.)

Principal Curtis in his examination of the evidence of the Gospels wrote: "The resentment of Jesus when confronted with wrong to the innocent and the simple and the young, or with the desecration of the Temple, illustrates His own qualification of submission and non-resistance. . . . It is not easy for any reader of the Gospels to picture Him as

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likely to have held Himself back from resolute action had He been confronted in the very act with callous injury to a helpless woman or a little child." "I agree," writes Professor Macgregor, "that for us 'it is not easy . . . to picture Him as likely to have held His hand from resolute action had He been confronted in the very act with callous injury to a helpless woman or a little child.' But how His first disciples pictured Him as acting in the presence of violent men, and what power they ascribed to sheer holiness unarmed, appears from John xviii. 6: 'As soon then as he had said unto them, I am he, they went backward and fell to the ground.' Imitation may be beyond us, but which is the truest picture of Jesus?"

Upon this comment one is impelled to remark that Professor Macgregor appears once more to evade the immediate issue raised, and that upon this occasion he suggests a misleading comparison, and makes an appeal to Scripture, which is of very doubtful validity.

Does Professor Macgregor mean that he accepts as true the picture of Jesus Christ refusing to withhold His hand from resolute action in the circumstances described, and taking the resolute action which in such circumstances would almost certainly involve violence and the use of force? Or does he mean that he regards the picture as untrue? He sets over against it another picture which he apparently regards as truer, and which he describes as "the truest picture of Jesus." If, however, in his view the first picture is untrue, he should say so plainly. If in his view it is a true picture, why should he try to depreciate its value? The com-

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parison which he draws is misleading. Nothing can be truer than truth. Ought not both pictures to be accepted frankly as true of and to Jesus Christ?

"Imitation," writes Professor Macgregor—*i.e.*, imitation of the action of Jesus Christ in Gethsemane—"may be beyond us." But the matter cannot be allowed to rest with such a peradventure. Does Professor Macgregor agree that imitation is impossible for the modern disciple or does he mean to suggest that it is possible? Does he hold that Christian men and women of to-day are incapable of acquiring the power which Jesus Christ exercised in Gethsemane or does he hold that greater faith and consecration would enable them to acquire it? If imitation is not 'beyond us,' if Christian men and women can repel aggression *and see it discomfited* by the simple process of being themselves, there is obviously no need for resolute action of the hands or for defensive war. In that case, all that a Christian need do, when he sees a helpless woman or a little child threatened with callous injury, is to exercise the spiritual power which is at his disposal. All that he need do, when his native land is threatened with wanton or malicious invasion, is to sit down or kneel down upon its borders and bid the invading flood of men roll back. If, upon the other hand, imitation of the action of Jesus Christ in Gethsemane is 'beyond us,' the citation of this incident as one that gives guidance to the disciple of to-day is misleading, notably misleading as a contribution to the pacifist controversy, which is concerned with the duties and obligations of discipleship. What Jesus did

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in Gethsemane does not enable the disciple to decide what he ought to do in the world to-day, if he cannot do what Jesus did or achieve what Jesus achieved by the same means.

Moreover, the evidence of the Gospels affords no justification for the idea that our Lord habitually dealt with aggressive evil or with violent men after the fashion in which He is represented as dealing in Gethsemane with the armed men who came to take him captive. Neither is there any suggestion in the Gospels that the first disciples possessed, or that later disciples could hope to possess, power comparable to the power which He is represented as using so dramatically on that occasion. Even if it could be shown that our Lord was invariably able to discomfit aggressive evil by the power of sheer holiness—and the Gospels prove the contrary—it would not follow that His disciples must possess the same power ; for holiness is always imperfect even in the best disciples, and every limitation of holiness involves limitation of spiritual power.

Professor Macgregor's citation of John xviii. 6 is rather surprising. He has already suggested doubt as to the authenticity of the passage in Luke xxii., and has pointed out that it occurs only in the third Gospel and is suspected by many modern scholars. Has he forgotten that John xviii. 6 is also found in one Gospel only, and that the fourth Gospel? And would he dispute that it is precisely the type of passage which modern scholars are most ready to suspect? That of his own initiative he should cite as evidence in the pacifist controversy a verse which is more liable to challenge than the

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other, and that he should use it without any word of caution or warning, is indeed surprising.

Professor Macgregor's use of John xviii. 6 is open to further objection. The situation in which it depicts our Lord is very different from the situation in which Principal Curtis's imaginary picture sets Him. The comparison suggested is again misleading. In Gethsemane an armed band comes forward to arrest Jesus Christ and lead Him to the death which He has foreseen and is now ready to suffer, whereas in the other picture He finds Himself in the presence of a bully or scoundrel who is in the very act of inflicting upon a helpless woman or a little child the callous injury which our Lord must have been unwilling that such little ones should suffer. In Gethsemane our Lord by the power of 'sheer holiness unarmed' so discomfits the band of captors that, without physical exertion on His part, they fall helpless to the ground before Him, whereas in the other picture the aggressor is presumed to be defiant and undismayed and to persist in the endeavour to inflict callous injury upon the helpless, despite protest and rebuke and appeal and the utmost exercise of spiritual power. In Gethsemane the armed men finally took our Lord captive, doubtless only because He consented and yielded to their renewed aggression; but would He, being a free agent, have consented in like fashion to the infliction of callous injury on a helpless woman or a little child, if violence against either of them had been renewed in His presence after protest and pause? If it be said that in such a situation as Principal Curtis depicts our Lord would have delivered—or would

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still deliver—the helpless by the use of spiritual power, and by spiritual power alone, one must reply that neither Scripture nor experience justifies the statement. Only one other incident comparable to the incident of Gethsemane is recorded in the Gospels. At Nazareth in the early months of His ministry (Luke iv.) He passed unharmed through the midst of the hostile crowd which had thrust Him to the brow of the hill above the city, that they might cast Him down headlong; and He then delivered Himself out of their hands, doubtless by the power of ‘sheer holiness unarmed’ or by the spiritual power of His personality. But there is no evidence that He habitually or frequently used spiritual power to protect Himself or others from physical violence. Our Lord’s enemies did not invariably fall helpless to the ground before Him. Even in Gethsemane the armed band which had fallen to the ground speedily rose up again, and laid hands on Him, and made Him their prisoner, and led Him away captive to the high priest’s house, which became for Him the first halting-place on the road that led to Calvary. The conclusion of this exceptional incident is not very encouraging for those who suggest that the power of holiness unarmed will preserve the world from war or redeem the world from wickedness.

The citation of John xviii. 6 in debate upon the pacifist issue would therefore appear to be doubly irrelevant. Whatever may have been our Lord’s capacity for bringing physical discomfiture upon His adversaries by means of spiritual power, He did not habitually exercise it, and the evidence of the Gospels forbids the supposition that He

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was always able to change the evil heart or will of those about Him. Upon occasion even He may have found Himself in a situation in which He could protect the weak or deliver them from aggression only by the use of manhood's strong arm. If such necessity could impose itself in the way of righteousness upon the perfect Master of men and Lord of all good life, how much more readily may it impose itself upon His imperfect disciples ! The vital question raised in Professor Curtis's comment therefore re-emerges : ' Would our Lord have held His hand from resolute action, had He been confronted in the very act with callous injury to a helpless woman or a little child ? ' And another question follows : Ought the Christian in like circumstances to withhold his hand from the resolute action which involves violence and the use of force, when persuasion and appeal have failed, and when such spiritual power as he can bring to bear upon the situation proves inadequate to protect the weak from wrong and insufficient to deter or convert the aggressor ?

“ YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT WAS SAID, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH : BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, RESIST NOT HIM THAT IS EVIL : BUT WHOSOEVER SMITETH THEE ON THY RIGHT CHEEK, TURN TO HIM THE OTHER ALSO. . . . YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT WAS SAID, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR, AND HATE THINE ENEMY : BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, LOVE YOUR ENEMIES, AND PRAY FOR THEM THAT PERSECUTE YOU ; THAT YE MAY BE SONS OF YOUR FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN : FOR HE MAKETH HIS SUN TO RISE ON THE EVIL AND

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THE GOOD, AND SENDETH RAIN ON THE JUST AND THE UNJUST. . . . YE THEREFORE SHALL BE PERFECT, AS YOUR HEAVENLY FATHER IS PERFECT.” (Matt. v. 38-48.)

Professor Macgregor's interpretation of this passage is conditioned by his view that the 'non-resistance' and 'love your enemy' sections (vv. 38-42 and 43-48)¹ "belong together as a single whole," and together constitute a statement of "Jesus' new ethic." From the point of view of exegesis, one should note (1) that v. 39 may be translated as an exhortation to non-retaliation rather than non-resistance, and that in the opinion of some commentators *non-retaliation* is the subject of the whole section (vv. 38-42); and (2) that so far as the formal structure of the discourse is concerned, the two sections are quite sharply separated, each beginning with the phrase, "Ye have heard that it was said," which is used throughout the chapter to introduce a new section (cf. vv. 21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43). Pacifist argument sometimes confuses resistance to evil with retaliation upon the evil-doer. Retaliation, which is vengefulness in action, is contrary to Christian love; but resistance to evil may be love in action. The distinction between non-resistance and non-retaliation therefore requires to be emphasised.

Professor Macgregor's argument is, however, practically unaffected whether vv. 38-42 are regarded as a 'non-retaliation' or as a 'non-resistance' section.

"Jesus' new ethic," he writes, "offers not merely

¹ 'The New Testament Basis of Pacifism.'

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negative passivity in the face of wrong, but a positive alternative method of overcoming evil which renders all violent and punitive methods obsolete. The injunction to non-resistance (Matt. v. 39.) is immediately followed by the commandment of all-embracing love (Matt. v. 44). Punitive justice, which merely restrains evil, is supplanted by active love which redeems the evil will. . . . In His own person Jesus proved again and again that active love could win moral victories where society, with its conventional methods of coercion and penalty, was helpless—*e.g.*, the Gerasene 'demoniac,' the 'woman who was a sinner,' the 'woman taken in adultery,' the 'dying thief.' Of this aspect of Jesus' teaching Loisy writes: 'A country where all the honest folk conformed to these maxims would be a Paradise of thieves and scoundrels.' He forgets the actual effect on 'thieves' and 'scoundrels' when Jesus Himself so dealt with them. It is pertinent to ask: Could Jesus have so succeeded if He had *also* backed righteousness by violent methods—if He had been ready to stone the adulteress and only afterwards to forgive her? The Cross itself is the perfect example of this positive redemptive method of overcoming evil by sacrificial love."

The line of argument is clear, though the language used is not always unambiguous or precise. Jesus' positive 'alternative' method is not one of two or more methods open to the Christian, but the Christian alternative to and substitute for methods which must be regarded as pre-Christian or sub-Christian. It 'supplants' punitive justice and renders all violent and punitive methods 'obsolete.' It both

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'meets' and 'overcomes' evil, succeeding where other methods fail. The 'way of the Cross' is not only 'the specifically Christian way of meeting evil,' but also 'the only truly Christian way,' and any method of meeting evil which does not practise the unconditional non-resistance of the Cross is contrary to the mind of Christ and therefore forbidden to the Christian.

Professor Macgregor agrees that the primary reference in Matt. v. 43, 44 is to the *personal* enemy, and that Jesus was laying down a new principle which was to govern the meeting and overcoming of evil in personal relationships; but in his view the principle is fundamental, and it must be applied to all the relationships of men, social, national, and international. Upon this foundation he builds his theory of pacifism. Because Jesus' new method of meeting and overcoming evil in personal relationships renders all methods of violence obsolete, it condemns the violence of war and renders all participation in war unchristian. But the effect of this argument is much more devastating. The logical inference would appear to be that love cannot use force to restrain evil of any kind, and that to employ a policeman for the protection of life or property is as decisively unchristian as to mobilise an army or engage in defensive war. The consequences of the two courses of action are certainly very different, but both involve the use of force, and both involve departure from 'the way of the Cross.' To arrest a thief, to imprison or execute a murderer, to order a baton charge against lawless rioters, to call out the military, is to employ 'violent and punitive methods' of

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meeting and restraining evil. Upon the other hand, those who refuse to enforce the law abandon the State, so far as their action is concerned, to anarchy, with all its disastrous consequences, material, moral, and spiritual. If the use of force in government and in the administration of civil and criminal law is consistent with the teaching of the Gospel, the use of force in international relationships is not unchristian *per se*. If the Cross involves absolute non-resistance to aggression, and if the complete submission of Gethsemane is an example to be imitated by Christian men at all times and in all circumstances, any mode of self-defence and any mode of protecting oneself or others from any form of aggression is unchristian.

Professor Macgregor's argument raises a number of vital questions regarding the teaching of the New Testament and the life and death of Jesus Christ. To use his own phrase, 'it is pertinent to ask' whether our Lord's teaching as a whole does involve or justify the statement that all violent or punitive methods are 'supplanted' in the Divine government of the universe or that they should be abandoned in the administration of human affairs. 'Meeting evil' and 'overcoming evil' are not phrases of identical meaning either for man or for God. One recalls a phrase of St Paul's, "the goodness and severity of God," and one need not hold penal theories of the Atonement to discern in the Cross itself something of Divine judgment upon sin. Even if the Cross were the only effectual Divine method of overcoming evil, it would not follow that judgment could have no place in the Divine economy or that judgment

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itself could not be 'ultimately redemptive' both in purpose and in effect. If it is possible for individuals to persist in the evil which is resistance to the righteous and loving will of God, and to persist in that evil beyond death and even to the end of time, it is difficult to see how any other end than destruction can be their final portion from the hand of God. Similarly it would appear to be consistent with the Divine will, and with the spirit and mind of Jesus Christ by Whom the Divine will and nature are supremely revealed, that Christian men and women, cordially acknowledging the obligations of the law of love, and loving their neighbours as themselves or even more than themselves, should resist the evil which they cannot overcome and the evil-doers whom they cannot persuade into the ways of Christian virtue, and should even use violent methods of resistance against aggressive evil, when the methods of passive resistance and active beneficence have failed or seem likely to fail to turn the aggressor from his evil purpose and his evil way.

Again 'it is pertinent to ask,' when mention is made of the 'moral victories' won by redeeming love, whether our Lord was universally victorious even in His spiritual dealings with men. Did He 'win' the chief priests and scribes or the Pharisees and the Sadducees? Did He 'win' Annas or Caiaphas? Did He 'win' Herod or Pontius Pilate? Did He 'win' Judas Iscariot? Did His redemptive method or methods invariably convert 'thieves and scoundrels' into honest, peace-loving, charitable citizens? The record of the Gospel shows that in many cases He failed to achieve His gracious purpose

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and failed to overcome evil in the heart of the individual. What reason, then, is there to suppose that 'the way of the Cross,' when applied to mundane affairs or to international relationships, would invariably and of necessity achieve its purpose?

Professor Macgregor cites the 'dying thief,' the 'woman taken in adultery,' the 'woman who was a sinner,' the Gerasene 'demoniac,' as examples of the moral victories won by Jesus Christ through the method of redemptive love. But which of these men and women of the Gospel presents a fair parallel to the violent and aggressive evil-doer who endeavours to inflict physical injury upon the weak or moral injury upon the defenceless, or threatens a free nation with wanton invasion, the destruction of its liberties, and the impoverishment of its intellectual and spiritual life? Even the Gerasene 'demoniac' who was so violent in the paroxysms of his affliction offered no violence to Jesus Christ. The 'woman taken in adultery' stood meek and ashamed before Him. The 'woman who was a sinner' crept humbly to His side, and washed His feet with her tears and lavished upon Him love's offering of precious ointment. The 'dying thief' rebuked his unrepentant comrade, and entreated mercy and help from the Righteous One whom he saw crucified before his eyes, crying out with the urgency of sin's necessity, "Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom." These men and women were not always humble or penitent, and doubtless the love and gentleness of Jesus Christ did much to bring them to repentance. But surely it is a perversion of comparison and a dis-

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tortion of fact to suggest that the position in which our Lord found Himself, when confronted with men and women humbled by spiritual need and eager for salvation, presents any real parallel to the situation in which He found Himself when confronted with men or women who resisted His love and persisted in their sins, or any real parallel to the situation in which a Christian finds himself to-day when confronted with insolent aggression or persistent and aggressive evil. The whole basis of comparison is unsound. The moral victories of redeeming love are won in the heart of the individual, and they become possible only when the sinner desires redemption from his sin. The immediate question for the Christian in the pacifist controversy is not how he is to commend the Gospel to the modern representatives of the Gerasene 'demoniac' or the 'woman who was a sinner' or the 'woman taken in adultery' or the 'dying thief,' nor how he is to bring sinners, whether penitent or impenitent, to redemption. The immediate question for him is how he ought to meet the threats or the aggression of overweening power or unrepentant pride or successful defiant wickedness in the sphere of international relationships, how he ought to meet the wanton invasion of his own country by a hostile army or the annexation of the territory of another nation by brute force or the attempt by means of war and the worst methods of scientifically equipped barbarism to rob humanity of its heritage of freedom and spiritual good.

Professor Macgregor thinks it 'pertinent to ask' whether Jesus could have succeeded as He did if

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He had been ready to stone the adulteress and only afterwards to forgive her. It would be equally 'pertinent to ask' how Jesus could have offered her forgiveness *after* stoning her to death, and what relevance questions as to the proper treatment of an adulteress have to the issue between pacifism and non-pacifism. Non-pacifists do not argue that the adulteress of the Gospel should have been stoned, or that adulterers and adulteresses should be stoned to-day. Even a personal sin like adultery, however, may be injurious to society. Other forms of sexual evil are injurious to physical health and also to moral welfare. Both State and Church must therefore deal with them in some fashion, though each may use other methods than those prescribed in the Mosaic Law. The Church declares that deliverance and healing from sin can be gained through the redeeming love of God in Jesus Christ ; but there are many who do not desire healing or deliverance, and there are some who for love of lust or greed of gain conspire against innocence and virtue. Even sexual evil can be aggressive. Has the State, then, no right or duty to protect its citizens and its children from physical and moral hurt ? Has the State no right or duty to restrain aggressive evil-doers by force and even by violence, if persuasion fails ? Moreover, has the Church no interest and no obligation in such matters ? Some may say that to restrain or repress evil by force is the function of the State rather than of the Church. If so, it is the duty of the Church to support the State in the discharge of its function and to encourage the members of the Church to fulfil their duty as citizens. The great

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problem with which Christians are confronted in the pacifist controversy is created by political aggression, aggression which is threatened or perpetrated in defiance of all ethical principle, in open contempt of truth and justice and honourable dealing, in scornful repudiation of Christ's teaching and Christ's authority. How is the resultant situation to be dealt with? by submission to this aggression or by resistance to it? by the non-violent resistance which is equivalent to submission, if the aggressor prove sufficiently ruthless and determined, or by the violent resistance which in an international dispute may lead to war? In face of such aggression it is futile to remind the world that redeeming love gains great moral victories. Pacifism must recognise the fact that even the redeeming love of God, supremely manifested in the redemptive ardour and self-sacrificing submissiveness of the Cross, has not been universally victorious, because men resist it. Christ's love for men did not succeed in gaining victory over every heart in the days of His flesh, and it still fails more often than it succeeds. Redeeming love can gain moral victories in the international sphere to-day by changing the heart of the aggressor; but while his heart remains unchanged, what is to happen to the threatened victims of aggression? The pacifist may say that moral victory can be won only by the positive activities of redeeming love, but what is to be done while moral victory tarries? Must the aggressor be allowed to have his own way, to the grievous hurt of others and the threatened impoverishment of humanity's richest spiritual heritage? The non-pacifist maintains that *un-*

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conditional non-resistance to aggressive evil is inconsistent with the requirements of Christian love, that it forms no part of the perfection at which Jesus Christ bade His disciples aim, and that its adoption as a national policy would hinder rather than promote the advancement of God's Kingdom

CHAPTER V.

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IF we accept and glorify Jesus Christ as the Supreme Revealer of the eternal God, as the Son of God Who was sent forth in the fulness of the time, as the Word made flesh, we shall expect to find a revelation of God and of His will in history as well as in Scripture. Jesus Christ had forerunners before John the Baptist, though John came to prepare His way at a special time, and doubtless in a special way. His teaching has its place, confessedly a unique place, in that revelation of Divine truth and the Divine will which God has been giving to men through the centuries "by divers portions and in divers manners" (Heb. i. 1). But God has always ruled His universe, and we should expect that something of His mind and will and purpose and method would appear in and through the long travail of human history, in the methods by which He has exercised His authority and achieved His purposes, in His guidance and discipline and government of both men and nations. For our present purpose, however, our main concern is with the teaching and example of Jesus Christ, and so we turn to examine the record of His words

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and deeds, His character and conduct, His life and death and resurrection, that record which we find in the New Testament and particularly in the four Gospels. Their supreme concern is with the Jesus of history who has become the Christ of experience, the Revealer of God, the Teacher and the Example of men, the Lord and Saviour of the individual soul, the Lord and Life and Head of the Church, which is His body.

Such teaching regarding war as can be discovered in the first four books of the New Testament and can be attributed to our Lord is so small in amount and so slight in significance that one might almost say that our Lord's teaching regarding war is mainly silence.

The argument from silence is notoriously dangerous, probably as dangerous in connection with our Lord's teaching as in any other connection; but His comparative silence upon this subject in the only extant reliable record of His teaching is not without significance: for He lived as a man among men, as a member of the Jewish nation and community and a subject of the Roman Empire, in a world to which war was a mere commonplace and a thing of course. The prophets of the Old Testament had dreamed their dreams and seen their visions of peace. Their visions and dreams were by no means always peace-inspired or peace-promoting. A prophet might rebuke a king for warlike ambitions and preparations, and in the Book of the Chronicles it is written that even the first great king of the house of Jesse was refused permission to build an house for the Lord, because he had been a man of war and had shed much blood upon

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the earth (I. Chronicles xxii. 8, cf. II. Samuel vii. 5-7, I. Kings v. 3, and viii. 17-19). But a prophet might exult in the thought of a war of bloody violence and extermination. Samuel bade Saul go and utterly destroy Amalek (I. Samuel xv.). Elisha was wroth because King Joash shot but three arrows from the prophet's window eastward towards Syria, and would smite Syria but thrice, and not until he had consumed it (II. Kings xiii. 14-19). It was, however, in the hours of highest exaltation that there came to prophets like Isaiah and Zechariah the vision of a blessed peace overspreading Judah and the whole wide earth, a vision of the peaceable kingdom of the Branch out of the root of Jesse which should be established to bear rule over all the nations (Isaiah ii. and xi. ; Zechariah ix.). Thus the prophets of the Old Testament beheld the vision of peace and pointed men forward to the coming of a day when wars should "cease unto the end of the earth," when men should "beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks," when nation should not "lift up sword against nation, nor learn war any more," when none should "hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain." We are told also that when Jesus Christ was born into the world of Rome's dominion, the gates of the temple of Janus were closed in token of peace, and the angels of Bethlehem sang their song above a world which had not known war for many years. But the historical books of the Old Testament, like the records of Assyrian and Babylonian and Egyptian and Persian and Grecian and Roman history, are largely books of war. The desperate battles of the Jewish Wars

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of Independence were a treasured national memory when our Lord was born at Bethlehem. And the bloodiest and most terrible of Jewish Wars brought destruction to Jerusalem and its Temple, and age-long exile to the chosen people, while some who had seen Jesus Christ hang upon the Cross were still alive. Truly war was a commonplace of Jewish history and of the world into which our Lord was born. The very fact, then, that His recorded teaching contains so little direct reference to the subject is significant; and the argument from His presumed silence, precarious as it may be, weighs against those who would condemn participation in war under any circumstances or conditions as contrary to the teaching and the mind of Christ. Our Lord did not bid the centurion (Matt. viii., Luke vii.) renounce his profession. He did not rebuke the disciples who produced the 'two swords' in the Upper Room (Luke xxii.), and presumably had not forbidden them to carry or use lethal weapons for their own protection. He was no anarchist; for He bade His disciples "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." We "cannot cite Him as repudiating the armed protection which was the common right of every law-abiding man."¹ He "took no exception to the use of the civil arm in its lawful guardianship of life and property" or "as an instrument of justice"¹; and the civil arm in Palestine depended, as it everywhere still ultimately depends, upon the military arm, upon the armed force which can be summoned to its aid in case of need. There is no evidence that our Lord condemned the use of military power

¹ Principal W. A. Curtis.

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for the maintenance of social order or for the protection of the weak and the law-abiding. His recorded teaching 'gives no specific guidance' regarding war, as such. The only inference which one is justified in drawing from the comparative silence of the Gospels upon the subject must be adverse to that rigid and unconditional condemnation of participation in war upon which pacifism insists.

When, however, we turn from the negative to the positive aspect of the subject, from our Lord's silence to His recorded words, we do receive more definite guidance. We can discern His mind about war, not so much by studying sayings of His which deal directly or explicitly with the subject—of such sayings there are few—but rather by considering the implications of that fundamental principle of His ethical teaching which is the principle of love.

In the New Testament love is described both as a 'commandment' (John xiii. 34, xv. 12 ; I. John iii. 23, iv. 21 ; cf. Matt. xxii. 36-40) and as a 'law,' the 'royal law' which is 'a law of liberty' (James ii. 8-12) ; but if precise language is to be used, love should be described rather as a 'principle,' the fundamental principle which the Christian must freely apply to the varying circumstances of life, in order that he may find guidance amid perplexities and solution for problems of conduct, or as an 'ideal,' the ideal which the Christian should continually keep before him, and by which his actions and his life should be more and more completely ruled and inspired. [Jesus Christ loved, loved greatly, and loved always ; and He is our example.] Love was

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the foundation principle and ruling motive of His life and actions and redemptive ministry ; and the true disciple is one who loves, and tries to love as Jesus Christ loved. (John xiii. 34, 35.)

Christian love is primarily an emotion, but it is an emotion which moves men to action, "an active quality of the spirit."¹ Love always involves feeling or sentiment. To love is not simply to do kind deeds (I. John iii. 11-20, iv. 7-21, cf. v. 1-3), but to feel kindly and under the impulse of that feeling to act kindly. To love is to have towards others "a settled disposition of a benevolent character . . . which leads [one] actively to seek their good."² Love is both disinterested and positive. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. xiii. 8-10) ; but love also worketh good to his neighbour. "Loving one's enemies is not simply doing no harm to them, and having no evil feelings towards them. There must also be a positive desire for their good."² The emotional content of Christian love varies. Finite mortals are incapable of feeling warm personal regard for more than a limited number of persons. A man cannot love all his neighbours as intensely as he loves his brother. He cannot love his enemy just as he loves his friend. But Jesus Christ exhorts His disciples to love their neighbours as themselves and to love their enemies, and Christian love always includes both benevolence and beneficence. Love at its highest is also holy, a love which is holy according to the pattern and the spirit of the love of Jesus Christ Himself, a love which ever loves goodness and seeks the highest welfare of men

¹ W. Robinson.

² W. M. Watt.

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and renders obedience to the holy will of God. Love is self-giving: "God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son": Jesus Christ so loved the world, and the individual men and women who compose it, that He came "to seek and to save that which was lost," "not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." Love is outgoing, reaching out to all men and to the ends of the earth, "in widest commonalty spread."

As illustrations and expressions of our Lord's unwearying emphasis upon the imperativeness and supremacy of love, one might cite the Golden Rule which He gave (Matt. vii. 12); His definition of the greatest commandments of the Law (Matt. xxii. 35-39); His exhortations to patience, and humility, and meekness, and unvengefulness, and forgiveness, and active kindness, and generosity, and self-sacrifice for the sake of others; His call to His disciples to minister, and to continue to minister, to the violent and the unworthy; His challenging summons to His disciples to love even their enemies. Illustrations and instances of such positive teaching in the incidents and parables of the Gospels are so frequent and so familiar that to cite particular passages is unnecessary.

Now the bearing of this persistent and uncompromising exaltation of love upon the subject of war is obvious. War must be contrary to the mind of Christ, because it is contrary to love. War cannot come upon the world save through the outbreak of rebellious wickedness, through pride or greed or malice or vengefulness, through man's inhumanity to man or through that sin of ambition

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by which "the angels fell." War is so contrary to the mind of Christ that while war rages His cause cannot progress as it should, so contrary to His mind that only when peace reigns can the Kingdom of God be perfectly established or made triumphantly victorious.

But the question at once presents itself, whether circumstances may not arise through human folly or wickedness, through the failure of love, which justify reluctant participation in war by Christian men. This world is not a perfect world, and there are many things in human life and human society which are contrary to the mind of Christ and should not be. Aggression, which is the root-cause of war, is the antithesis of love, and is as contrary to the mind of Christ as war itself. War ought not to be, but it persists. Aggression ought not to be, but it persists. How then ought the Christian to deal with these present evils? Our Lord's great saying stands, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Love must rule, but what does love require? The language of that saying suggests that there is a right self-love, which might be defined as the cultivation of the noblest qualities of humanity, and humanity cannot grow to its full stature unless the rights of personality are defended and secured. The Christian is bidden love his neighbour as himself. He is taught to seek the highest good of others and to endeavour to secure for them all that he may rightfully endeavour to secure for himself. Now aggression is a sin against love and a sin against humanity and a sin against God. Can Christian love then require or approve unconditional submission to aggression? Aggression

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may be directed either against the Christian or against his neighbour. Does the love of Christ constrain him to submit to every form of aggression which non-violent resistance has failed to avert or overcome? or may the love of Christ constrain him to offer violent resistance to aggressive evil, and even to fight in his own defence and in defence of his neighbour? According to the pacifist contention war is so hateful that love cannot possibly take part in it, the results of war so disastrous that even defensive war cannot serve the higher interests either of the individual or of humanity. The non-pacifist, however, maintains that submission to aggression may produce results even more disastrous, and that until some means of discomfiting aggression more effectual than war can be put into operation love itself may bid the Christian fight. Our Lord did not teach that selfishness is the way of virtue or spiritual attainment; and presumably a nation, like an individual, may save itself from war and lose its life, save its life and lose its soul.

In the teaching of Jesus Christ recorded in the New Testament one finds no warrant for a doctrine of unconditional non-resistance, unless it can be found in the often-quoted exhortations of the Sermon on the Mount: "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil (or, the evil one): but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of

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thee turn not thou away" (Matthew v. 39-42). This is the great proof-text of unlearned pacifism, the 'plain word' of Jesus Christ, the meaning of which is so obvious that no honest man can entertain a moment's doubt about its meaning!

There is, however, a right and a wrong method of interpreting the paradoxes or hyperboles of the Sermon on the Mount, and the first requirement for everyone who truly and devoutly desires to know the mind of Christ as revealed in these memorable sayings is that he should patiently and sincerely endeavour to discern the right method of interpreting them. If they were spoken as rules of conduct, they should be interpreted as such, but one may doubt if they were ever so regarded by the original disciples of our Lord; and if they were never intended by our Lord Himself to be so interpreted or received, a different line of interpretation ought to be adopted, if only in loyalty to His mind and purpose. Now it is at least possible that these sayings are not, and were never intended to be regarded as, rules of conduct. They are striking illustrations of fundamental principle, especially of the one ultimate principle of Christian ethics, which is the principle of love. They are, as was said long ago, "stimulants of thought rather than rules of conduct," intended to provoke men and women 'furiously to think' and to think fearlessly regarding the Christian law or principle of love, the obligations of Christian discipleship, and the measure in which they are fulfilling or failing to fulfil these obligations. The use of such paradoxes or hyperboles is a characteristic mode of Oriental teaching in general, and of our Lord's teaching in

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particular. They are instances of the unqualified general statement or the unconditional imperative, which appears—but only appears—to ignore conditions and qualifications and possible exceptions, the reality and importance of which no wise teacher can forget or ignore. These sayings of our Lord were in fact never intended for rigid application or literal obedience. The Christian ethic neither lives by, nor can live in, literal obedience to rigid rules of conduct. It does not either seek or attain its high ends by prescribing rules or laws. It lays down and emphasises fundamental principles, or rather the one ultimate principle of love, which the individual disciple and the Church alike must apply, the individual for himself and the Church for itself, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, Who takes of that which is Christ's and declares it to His disciples (John xvi. 13-15). To live by the fearless application of fundamental Christian principle to the varying situation and circumstances and responsibilities of one's own life, in reliance upon the promised strength and guidance of the living Spirit of the living God, is a harder and more exacting way of life than to walk by blind or unthinking submission to rule, precept, and command ; but it is the only way of truly Christian living, the only method or means by which man may attain to the highest type of Christian living, which is life lived in loyalty to principle and the example of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the same spirit of free, trustful, hopeful, adventurous, and loving living in which He lived out His earthly days. Moreover, let the fact be emphasised that this mode of interpreting the paradoxes of the Sermon on the Mount,

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and the non-resistance paradox in particular, is adopted, not because it is a convenient way of escaping inconvenient demands and dangerous or costly requirements, but because one is persuaded that it is the true method of interpretation, the method of interpretation which is in accordance with the mind and intention of Jesus Christ Himself.

To interpret these paradoxes literally and unimaginatively, and to apply them rigidly and unreasoningly, might—and in certain cases and circumstances would—lead to absurdity or positive evil, to actions and consequences which would be contrary to the fundamental Christian principle of love and its requirements. Christian love is always akin to the love of God, holy love, love which seeks to win and redeem men from sin as well as from despair or ruin, and to build them up in righteousness. The 'non-resistance' exhortation, if it were accepted as a rule and interpreted with strict literalness, would forbid any and every form or mode of resistance to evil or evil-doers. It might be said to forbid resistance to temptation. It would forbid not only the use of physical force or violence in self-defence, but also every other form of self-defence. It would forbid a man to defend or protect others, however grievous the injury to body or spirit with which they were threatened. It would forbid even non-violent or passive resistance to aggressive violence and spiritual resistance to spiritual evil; for these are real forms of resistance. To let a suitor at law, presumably even an unjust or untruthful suitor, have one's cloak as well as one's coat; to go two miles with—or render two miles of forced postal service to—everyone who

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compels a single mile of travelling or a single mile of forced service ; to give unquestioningly and unhesitatingly to everyone who asks aught, no matter what that aught may be ; to welcome with equal readiness and enthusiasm every would-be borrower, and to lend to him, without condition and without expectation or desire for repayment, whatsoever he may ask, is recognised to be conduct which is neither right nor wise, good neither for the individual, be he oppressor or suppliant, nor for the community, contrary to the real requirements of love, calculated to hinder rather than to promote the advancement of God's Kingdom. No one—or almost no one—suggests that *all* these sayings of our Lord should be interpreted as rules which expect and require literal obedience ; but if one among them must be so interpreted, all must be so interpreted. If it is matter of agreement that all cannot be so interpreted, it follows that none can in reason or fairness or sound exposition be so interpreted. Unreflective, unequivocal obedience to some at least of these paradoxes would encourage immorality and bring spiritual loss and damage upon the individuals indulged as well as upon the community : it would therefore be essentially uncharitable ; contrary to the principle and the spirit of love. Unconditional and universal non-resistance to evil or to violent and wicked men would be liable to produce evil results, and is therefore neither a requirement nor a wise manifestation of Christian love.

Self-defence would appear to have a legitimate place in the life of the individual, even from the strictly Christian standpoint. The individual is

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entitled to defend his body from violent assault and his goods from spoliation. His life does not consist in the abundance of the things which he possesses, and our Lord warned men against the danger of laying up treasures for themselves on earth; but our Lord also quoted with approval the commandment which forbids theft. A man is entitled to defend his house and his goods, and security for property is one of the conditions of advancing civilisation and a stable social order. Our Lord taught that it is "more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts xx. 35), but the only giving which has ethical value is that which is spontaneous and unforced. Our Lord taught that His disciples must deny themselves, that to save one's life is to lose it, and that to find or gain eternal life one must be willing to lose the life of the body; but a man does not find life by being robbed of his possessions or wounded in his body or forcibly deprived of liberty or brutally done to death. "Greater love hath no man that this, that a man *lay down* his life for his friends" (John xv. 13). A man gains and saves his true life by the willing ministration of his substance to the poor, by the willing consecration of his time and talents to the service of God and man, by the willing surrender of life itself for love's sake, for conscience' sake and for Christ's sake. The Christian is entitled not only to defend his body and his material possessions, until a worthy occasion for non-resistance arises, but also to defend his inherent rights of thought and conscience, and to protect his personality as the temple of the Holy Spirit.

Moreover, to resist aggressive evil in the interests

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of others is surely legitimate for the Christian. Indeed, he may be required by the sheer compulsion of love to defend and protect their bodies and their goods, their essential rights as members of the community, their personality, their inheritance in Jesus Christ. The love of one's neighbour surely requires one to defend and protect him both from material and from spiritual hurt. If the Christian may resist private injury and personal wrong, he may resist public injury and national wrong. If he may defend himself by physical force and even by the use of lethal weapons, he may defend his nation and his brethren by maintaining armed forces, and even in the last resort by waging war. There have been occasions in the past when Christian men have deemed it necessary to fight in defence of holy things and for the spiritual liberty of the Christian man. If self-defence is ever legitimate for the Christian, it is legitimate when his highest interests are attacked. If a war of defence is ever justifiable, it is justifiable when a people's heritage of religious knowledge and religious freedom is threatened.

Love creates social duty, and in debate regarding social duty, account must be taken of what may be termed third-party risks and third-party obligations. Sometimes, for purposes of exposition or debate, a situation is isolated from the realities of experience, being envisaged as one in which only two persons are concerned, the aggressor and his actual or potential victim. In many actual situations, however, a third person is concerned, and the challenge of Christian love or duty addresses itself to him just as much as to either of the two

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others. "The whole difficulty about the rights and wrongs of war, pacifism, conscientious objection, &c., is that they are concerned with an immensely complex situation, in which whatever we do affects some groups of people favourably and others adversely. . . . The principle of love certainly prescribes non-resistance for the *victim* of an attack (in so far as he has no stronger claims upon him); but it emphatically does not tell the *spectator* to avoid using violence and not to resist evil. Non-resistance to evil and the avoidance of evil are not always Christian. The principles of non-resistance and non-violence cannot be regarded as equivalents, or even partial equivalents, for the principle of love. The principle of love, and that alone, is an adequate basis for Christian morality. . . . Certainly in fairly simple situations love prescribes non-resistance and non-violence; but where the situation is at all complex we must examine it on its own merits, guided solely by love; and we must be prepared for the possibility that love will tell us to resist someone and to use violence against him. . . . The conclusion that love may sometimes tell us to resist and to use violence is extremely important, for it follows from it that a Christian cannot adopt pacifism without a careful study of the complex moral situation in which a war occurs." ¹

The complexity of the moral situation which is created by the persistence of aggressive evil constitutes part of the Christian's problem in connection with war. Christian duty is always the

¹ W. M. Watt: 'Can Christians be Pacifists?' (A telling illustration will be found in Chapter III. of that book.)

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immediate duty of the moment, not to be determined without regard to the future, to be considered indeed in the light of possible consequences and possible future developments, but always the duty to which the Christian is called now, not the duty to which he may be called to-morrow or next year, not the duty to which he might be called in a different set of circumstances, not the duty to which he might be called in an ideal world or in the future life, but the duty to which he is called now in the position and under the circumstances and conditions of life in which he finds himself. No man can determine or fulfil his duty *in vacuo*. Christian duty is always determined by present circumstances and immediate needs as well as by eternal principles. This generation knows from bitter experience the material and moral consequences of participation in a war, participation in which was believed by our nation—or by the overwhelming majority of our nation—to be right, because it was believed to be the best of the courses of action which were open to the nation. We do not, as individuals or as a nation, know the consequences, at least in their fulness, of *refusal* to participate in such a war, though one may profitably consider and endeavour to estimate the consequences of the failure of the League of Nations to protect China and Abyssinia.

It may be said that resistance, especially when it takes the form of force or violence or appeal to arms, is no more successful than non-resistance in preventing or overcoming evil, and many to-day are fond of declaring that the Great War of 1914-18 achieved nothing. That evil can be overcome only

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by good is true. To restrain the sinner by force or violence does not overcome the evil that is in him, because it does not deliver him from sin or make him good. But there are times and circumstances in which men can do little more than resist and withstand evil, even by force of arms. Resistance alone may not overcome the evil or avert grievous loss and damage, both material and spiritual, or gain the day. All that it can achieve, if even so much, may be to delay the advance of the aggressor or to defeat his immediate purpose. The whole positive work of deliverance and healing and spiritual amelioration and the upbuilding of God's Kingdom will still be the task of the future and of spiritual forces. But if to withstand and resist evil is the immediate duty and the only right course of action for Christian man or Christian nation, then to withstand and resist cannot be altogether vain while God rules in heaven and on earth, while He holds in His hands the reins of government and determines the destinies of both men and nations. The Great War did achieve something when it defeated the immediate evil purpose of Germany. If the results then gained have since been lost, in whole or in part, the determining cause has been not so much the futility of resistance, not so much even the futility of war, but rather the quality of men's actions and the folly of certain national policies in the years which followed and were nominally years of peace. Evil can be 'overcome' only with good, only by the One who is good, that is, God; but imperfect men must 'meet' evil with such virtuous means as they can command, and the immediate virtuous way of meeting evil

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may be to resist it in the name of Jesus Christ. More than resistance of course is needful, if evil is to be overcome, if the sinner or the world is to be redeemed ; and the Christian is in duty bound to use all the positive means of good at his command. Offence or attack is often the best defence in the spiritual realm as well as elsewhere, and the wise soldier of Jesus Christ will always have the spiritual offensive in view, even while he stands on the defensive. But if to resist evil is his first and immediate duty, then the good soldier of Jesus Christ will resist, whatever else and whatever more he does.

Non-resistance, then, is not a Christian principle, but an illustration and manifestation of the one ultimate principle of Christian ethics, "Thou shalt love." Under certain circumstances non-resistance may be the most glorious manifestation of Christian love : witness the non-resistance of our Lord in Gethsemane and at Calvary. Under other circumstances Christian love may require something very different from non-resistance. Love has its obligations to the wrong-doer ; but love has also its obligations to the victim of wrong-doing, whether that wrong-doing be oppression or cruelty or moral abuse or invasion of the rights of personality or dishonour to the Divine in man or woman. Love has its obligation to pardon and endeavour to redeem the sinner ; but love has its obligation to protect, defend, and deliver the weak, the threatened, the oppressed, and all who suffer injury or spiritual wrong. There are times and conditions and circumstances when that which the love of God and man most requires is non-resistance, and non-resistance

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others. "The whole difficulty about the rights and wrongs of war, pacifism, conscientious objection, &c., is that they are concerned with an immensely complex situation, in which whatever we do affects some groups of people favourably and others adversely. . . . The principle of love certainly prescribes non-resistance for the *victim* of an attack (in so far as he has no stronger claims upon him); but it emphatically does not tell the *spectator* to avoid using violence and not to resist evil. Non-resistance to evil and the avoidance of evil are not always Christian. The principles of non-resistance and non-violence cannot be regarded as equivalents, or even partial equivalents, for the principle of love. The principle of love, and that alone, is an adequate basis for Christian morality. . . . Certainly in fairly simple situations love prescribes non-resistance and non-violence; but where the situation is at all complex we must examine it on its own merits, guided solely by love; and we must be prepared for the possibility that love will tell us to resist someone and to use violence against him. . . . The conclusion that love may sometimes tell us to resist and to use violence is extremely important, for it follows from it that a Christian cannot adopt pacifism without a careful study of the complex moral situation in which a war occurs."¹

The complexity of the moral situation which is created by the persistence of aggressive evil constitutes part of the Christian's problem in connection with war. Christian duty is always the

¹ W. M. Watt: 'Can Christians be Pacifists?' (A telling illustration will be found in Chapter III. of that book.)

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immediate duty of the moment, not to be determined without regard to the future, to be considered indeed in the light of possible consequences and possible future developments, but always the duty to which the Christian is called now, not the duty to which he may be called to-morrow or next year, not the duty to which he might be called in a different set of circumstances, not the duty to which he might be called in an ideal world or in the future life, but the duty to which he is called now in the position and under the circumstances and conditions of life in which he finds himself. No man can determine or fulfil his duty *in vacuo*. Christian duty is always determined by present circumstances and immediate needs as well as by eternal principles. This generation knows from bitter experience the material and moral consequences of participation in a war, participation in which was believed by our nation—or by the overwhelming majority of our nation—to be right, because it was believed to be the best of the courses of action which were open to the nation. We do not, as individuals or as a nation, know the consequences, at least in their fulness, of *refusal* to participate in such a war, though one may profitably consider and endeavour to estimate the consequences of the failure of the League of Nations to protect China and Abyssinia.

It may be said that resistance, especially when it takes the form of force or violence or appeal to arms, is no more successful than non-resistance in preventing or overcoming evil, and many to-day are fond of declaring that the Great War of 1914-18 achieved nothing. That evil can be overcome only

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by good is true. To restrain the sinner by force or violence does not overcome the evil that is in him, because it does not deliver him from sin or make him good. But there are times and circumstances in which men can do little more than resist and withstand evil, even by force of arms. Resistance alone may not overcome the evil or avert grievous loss and damage, both material and spiritual, or gain the day. All that it can achieve, if even so much, may be to delay the advance of the aggressor or to defeat his immediate purpose. The whole positive work of deliverance and healing and spiritual amelioration and the upbuilding of God's Kingdom will still be the task of the future and of spiritual forces. But if to withstand and resist evil is the immediate duty and the only right course of action for Christian man or Christian nation, then to withstand and resist cannot be altogether vain while God rules in heaven and on earth, while He holds in His hands the reins of government and determines the destinies of both men and nations. The Great War did achieve something when it defeated the immediate evil purpose of Germany. If the results then gained have since been lost, in whole or in part, the determining cause has been not so much the futility of resistance, not so much even the futility of war, but rather the quality of men's actions and the folly of certain national policies in the years which followed and were nominally years of peace. Evil can be 'overcome' only with good, only by the One who is good, that is, God; but imperfect men must 'meet' evil with such virtuous means as they can command, and the immediate virtuous way of meeting evil

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may be to resist it in the name of Jesus Christ. More than resistance of course is needful, if evil is to be overcome, if the sinner or the world is to be redeemed ; and the Christian is in duty bound to use all the positive means of good at his command. Offence or attack is often the best defence in the spiritual realm as well as elsewhere, and the wise soldier of Jesus Christ will always have the spiritual offensive in view, even while he stands on the defensive. But if to resist evil is his first and immediate duty, then the good soldier of Jesus Christ will resist, whatever else and whatever more he does.

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is then wise and right and best ; but there are times and circumstances and conditions when that which the love of God and man requires is—or at least appears to be—the very opposite of non-resistance, and it is then no part of Christian duty or Christian virtue to submit to evil or to practise non-resistance.

CHAPTER VI.

OUR LORD'S EXAMPLE.

OUR Lord declared the truth of God not only by His teaching but also by Himself. He taught men the way of life not only by His words but also by His example. What then was His own practice in regard to non-resistance and war?

Our Lord did not practise the absolute non-resistance which is simply submission to aggression or wrong. While, so far as we know, He never withstood His enemies by the use of physical force or by violent methods of resistance, He did evade them upon occasion. He delivered Himself out of their hands, for instance, at Nazareth, and He removed Himself more than once beyond their reach by departure out of Judea and even out of Galilee, until the time for His sacrifice of Himself had come. Moreover, it is doubtful if He habitually practised that modified form of non-resistance which is sometimes called 'non-violent resistance,' which refuses to use *physical* force against an aggressor. No clear and convincing instance of contrary practice on His part is indeed recorded in the Gospels; but here again the argument from silence is dangerous, and the extant record of our

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Lord's earthly life is confessedly very fragmentary. The cleansing of the Temple (Mark xi., cf. John ii.), to which reference is often made in debate upon this subject, was at most a symbolic action, and the meaning of its symbolism may be matter of dispute; but the one thing of which it cannot possibly be symbolical is non-resistance. So far as we know, our Lord never used violence to protect or defend Himself, unless the casting of His would-be captors in Gethsemane to the ground (John xviii. 6) might be accounted the result of a deliberate exercise of spiritual power which was intended to produce physical results. So far as we know, He never used violent means to defend or protect others. But it is indeed difficult to imagine Him sitting still with folded hands, or refusing in the last resort to use the physical power of His manhood, if He had found Himself face to face with a brute or bully inflicting the violence of cruelty or lust upon child or woman. In such a situation He would doubtless in the first instance have employed persuasion or appeal. It is possible that He was able upon occasion to restrain the hands of violence or even to change the heart of an aggressor by the sheer force of spiritual power. But if in any case appeal had proved unsuccessful and spiritual power alone could not prevail, it is difficult—nay, it is impossible—to imagine Him leaving physical force unused for the protection or deliverance of helpless child or weak woman or brother man. No instance of such violent resistance to aggressive evil on His part is recorded in the Gospels. Possibly no such occasion for the use of physical violence arose in His experience. Upon the other hand, He un-

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doubtedly practised complete non-resistance at the most critical point of His ministry—in Gethsemane, during His trial, after His condemnation, at Calvary, and upon the Cross.

Our Lord, so far as we know, never took part in war of any kind, and there is not the slightest ground for suggesting that He ever did. Even though the disciples carried swords, it is most unlikely that He did the same. One may assume that He was never called upon by the Jewish State or the Roman Empire to render military service. When the multitude would have taken Him by force (John vi. 15) to make Him King, He withdrew into the solitude of the mountains. If the Zealots approached Him, He presumably rejected their advances. He refused to identify Himself with the militant patriotic party among His fellow-countrymen or to lead a new war of Jewish independence. He refused to be a fighting Messiah or to allow His disciples to fight for Him. At the beginning of His ministry He put behind Him the temptation to try to gain a worldly kingdom by worldly means (Matt. iv. 8-10), believing that Messiahship must be fulfilled through suffering patiently endured and sacrifice willingly offered for the sins of the world. At the end of His ministry He answered Pilate's question, "Art thou the King of the Jews?" with the words, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence" (John xviii. 33-37). He knew that His Kingdom could not be established by fighting.

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Our Lord's practice in regard to non-resistance and war does not, however, provide clear and unambiguous guidance for His disciples. The evidence as to His practice is limited in range and in amount. If it be said that our Lord delivered Himself out of the hands of the angry multitude at Nazareth (Luke iv.), and secured the safety of His disciples, though not His own, in Gethsemane (John xviii.), without using force or violence, by the power of 'sheer holiness unarmed' or by the grace of God bestowed upon Him in overflowing measure (John iii. 34), the reply is obvious, that the Christian ordinarily does not possess such power, and as a sinful and imperfect being will never in this life possess it in its fulness, despite the promised grace of the Spirit (John xiv. 12-14). The disciple therefore cannot count upon being able to deliver either himself or others by spiritual power alone, and the analogy of our Lord's example in this respect cannot be made the basis of a rule for the disciple. Again, while our Lord never took part in war, He was never called upon, as Jewish citizen or as Roman subject, to render military service or to engage in war. He therefore never found Himself in the exact position in which Christian men may find themselves in the modern world, if they should be summoned by the national government of a democratic State to take up arms, in order to defend their country against invasion or to maintain hard-won and well-established liberties. In such a situation, which may arise any day, the practice of Jesus Christ affords no clear and definite guidance for the Christian.

War is not a method which our Lord employed

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or could employ for the advancement of His own cause or the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God, and the same disability rests upon the Christian disciple, as he seeks to further that cause and Kingdom by direct endeavour. The impossibility of the method arises alike from the essential nature of war itself and from the essential nature and spiritual quality of the Kingdom, which St Paul has defined—one may note the order of the three nouns—as “righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost” (Rom. xiv. 17). Our Lord decisively rejected the use of worldly means for the advancement of His Kingdom or the glory of God, for instance, in the Temptation (Matt. iv.); and of worldly means war may be regarded as the most earthly and sensual and devilish (James iii. 14-16, cf. i. 19-20, iv. 1-3). Our Lord’s application of Isaiah liii. and its conception of the Suffering Servant to Himself and to the work which God had given Him to do is also illuminating in this connection. His Kingdom, He declared, was “not of this world,” and therefore was not to be defended or advanced by means of fighting (John xviii. 36): and for the same reason He refused the use of the sword in His own defence, when His time was come to suffer the last indignity of human malice and wickedness and to offer the supreme and sufficient sacrifice of Himself to God. “The Church, we infer, is not to arrogate or covet or employ worldly weapons for the advancement of the Kingdom of her Lord, and as a member of the Church a Christian is under the same restriction in furthering that end.”¹ We may not, however, infer that a Christian is not to

¹ Principal W. A. Curtis.

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use worldly means in the prosecution of his worldly business. Neither may we infer that a Christian is not to bear arms in the discharge of the duties of his earthly citizenship.

Methods must be adapted to the task which a man is seeking to accomplish. War, for instance, might be ineffective for the advancement or even for the defence of God's Kingdom, and yet might be necessary for the defence of an earthly kingdom and effective for its advancement. At least in normal times the Christian may not go out of the world. He has duties which demand his attention, duties to his home and to his country and to humanity. He is a member of the nation as well as a member of the Church, the citizen of an earthly State as well as of a heavenly Kingdom. The nation has its interests and activities and responsibilities, and these are his concern. He is to be in the world, though not of it, and in the world he has worldly business to attend to, in the accomplishment of which he may require to use worldly means—not means which are immoral or unchristian, but means or methods which belong to this present world. A man cannot indeed divide his life into watertight compartments, acting now as citizen, and now as Christian. The Christian can own no divided allegiance. One is his Master, even Christ. He must endeavour to rule his whole life by obedience to Jesus Christ. But as a citizen he may be called upon to defend the State against violence and aggression, to protect rights and liberties which form part of humanity's most precious heritage, and it may appear to him in certain circumstances that he can fulfil the duties of his earthly citizenship

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only by participation in war. The instrument or method which would be useless for the propagation of the Gospel or the direct advancement of God's Kingdom may be useful or necessary for the defence of his country and the protection of humanity's rights and liberties.

The true parallel to our Lord's refusal to fulfil His Messiahship by fighting is not the pacifist refusal to take any part in war, but the refusal of the Church to propagate the Gospel by force or by an army. Men cannot be made good by compulsion. The citadel of the soul cannot be stormed by force. The Church must endeavour to win men by appeal, by persuasion, by attraction, by spiritual influence. Like her Master, she must stand at the door and knock. No intelligent Christian imagines that he can win the world for Christ by launching armies against non-Christian nations, or that he can convert men from vice to virtue or from unbelief to faith by letting loose upon them the horrors and evils of war. It is a far cry from the acceptance of that obvious truth to the pacifist contention that neither Christian man nor Christian nation has any right of self-defence against aggression, that national power is not intended to be used for the protection of weak nations or the punishment of persistent evil-doers or the preservation of spiritual values.

When one goes on to inquire into the significance of our Lord's example, one must at once premise the Christian position, that Jesus Christ, alike in His Person and in the work which was given Him to do and in His death upon the Cross, was unique, possessed unique powers, and fulfilled a unique

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ministry both towards man and towards God. It follows as a corollary that what was possible for Him may not be possible for the loyal but imperfect disciple, imperfect and sinful as every child of human race must throughout this life continue to be, and that what was good and best for and in the Saviour and Master and Lord of all good life may not be good or necessary or best for or in the disciple. The miracles of the Gospel, for instance, recorded as part of the work which our Lord performed and finished upon the earth, may not be possible—one does not state the disability more positively, in view of the promise of John xiv. 12—for the sincere and loyal disciple; and no disciple can reproduce in its full significance and saving power the redeeming death of the Cross or the Christ's perfect sacrifice of Himself for man's salvation. Similarly the exact imitation of the general behaviour or of particular actions of Jesus Christ may be impossible for men, and it may even be undesirable that His disciples should adopt His mode of living or endeavour to shape their life according to the external pattern of His life.

Our Lord stood aside from politics. He led no crusade for social reform, though He exercised His miraculous powers for the healing of the sick and the feeding of the hungry. He espoused poverty, lived homeless, and died unwed. Who will argue to-day that the disciple ought to imitate his Lord in all these things? Who will argue that the disciple falls short of the righteousness at which he ought to aim whenever he takes part in politics or retains private property or marries, whenever he fails to leave undone anything which Jesus Christ left

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undone or fails to do precisely what Jesus Christ did? Social and political conditions in Britain to-day are not the same as those which prevailed in Palestine in the days of Jesus Christ, and the duty of a Christian at any time is to some extent determined by these conditions.

Indeed, literal imitation is not the essence of example. When teachers or preachers exhort young people to follow the example of David Livingstone or Grace Darling or Florence Nightingale or General Gordon, they never dream of suggesting that only an explorer or a missionary can follow the example of David Livingstone, only a lighthouse-keeper's daughter the example of Grace Darling, only a nurse the example of Florence Nightingale, only a soldier the example of General Gordon. These men and women are remembered with gratitude for the things they did; but the outward shape of their actions was determined largely by circumstances, and they are honoured supremely for the motive and spirit which prompted and gave heroic quality to their actions and for their virtues of courage, devotion to duty, compassion, self-forgetfulness, self-sacrifice, and loyalty to Jesus Christ. Such virtues can be cultivated and manifested in any occupation and under very diverse conditions of life. The maiden dwelling in some inland valley remote from the sea can follow the example of Grace Darling, though she never handle oars or risk her life to rescue shipwrecked sailors. The mill employee who never leaves the mill to preach the Gospel or open up far lands to the healing influences of Christianity can follow the example of David Livingstone. The

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man of peaceful avocation can follow the soldier's example by showing forth the soldier's virtues. And every Christian, however ignorant of the art of war he may remain even to his life's end, is called upon to "fight the good fight of the faith" and to "endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ Jesus."

Two questions which ought to be carefully distinguished are often confused. The disciple who finds himself confronted with a problem of conduct may ask, "What would Jesus do?" or he may ask, "What would Jesus have me to do?" The answer to the two questions is not necessarily the same. Only Jesus Christ Himself could give an adequate answer to the first, and the question which the disciple should put to himself is the second. The distinction here suggested is implicit in the words attributed to our Lord in John xiii. 15, "I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you"—*as I have done*, not, *what I have done*. If the first disciples desired to follow the example which their Lord had given them in the Upper Room, it was not necessary that they should literally wash one another's feet, natural and gracious as the service would have been for any one of them to render to his fellows in an eastern land. The Master's action exemplified love stooping to the lowliest service, and the disciples followed His example whenever they rendered willing, lowly, loving service to their brethren, no matter what form that service took. If Christians of a later age desire to follow the example of their Lord, it is not necessary for them to wash the feet of wayfaring men, especially in western lands. Upon set occasions high dignitaries of the Roman Church

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still publicly wash the feet of a number of poor men, but the elaborate ecclesiastical ceremony seems the mere aping of humility. The true imitation of Jesus Christ is very different : " I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat : I was thirsty and ye gave me drink : I was a stranger, and ye took me in : naked, and ye clothed me : I was sick, and ye visited me : I was in prison, and ye came unto me " (Matt. xxv.). Men do not follow the example of Jesus Christ, however similar their actions may be to His in outward shape and form, if the animating aim and motive of their actions are different from His. Upon the other hand, they do follow His example, however dissimilar to His their actions may be, if His Spirit rules their hearts and prompts their deeds. To-day many Christians who honour Jesus Christ as Lord and Master and Example practise total abstinence from wine and other intoxicating beverages, remembering their Lord's contrary practice, but determining their own in view of modern scientific knowledge of the properties of alcohol, modern conditions of traffic upon the country's roads, and modern dangers upon the highway of life. They adopt the practice of abstinence " as a splendid privilege of Christian service," under the constraint of Christian charity and in loyalty to Jesus Christ. They pledge themselves to abstinence for Christ's sake and the brethren's. So doing, they adopt a course of action different from His, and yet may claim to follow His example more closely than if they drank wine, since they are animated by the same spirit of love and service and self-denial which He so gloriously manifested in word and deed, in conduct and in life.

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Even that memorable title, 'The Imitation of Christ,' may be misleading. Thomas à Kempis's phrase is nowhere found in the Gospels. St Paul exhorts his converts to be "imitators" of Christ (I. Cor. xi. 1), and of the Lord (I. Thess. i. 6), and in a third passage with characteristic boldness he exhorts them to be "imitators of God" (Eph. v. 1). But the words which the Gospels attribute to our Lord when He called men to discipleship and obedience are, "Follow me," "Come ye after (behind) me," words which put a significant distance between the Master and the disciple. He bids men follow Him, but He always goes before. He calls His disciples "friends" (John xv. 15), and gives them companionship as well as leadership, but He is still their Lord and Master (John xiii. 13, 14). Our Lord does not always desire or require from His disciples—and perhaps never requires or desires from them—the literal imitation of His actions. If and when they find it possible to do the very things He did, and thus literally to 'follow His steps,' they may well rejoice and thank God for the high privilege which is theirs. More frequently they will find that what is possible for them is to do works like to His in motive, aim, and spiritual quality. To follow His example is to multiply such works, to let life shine with faith and hope and love towards God, with moral obedience and faithfulness and virtue, with tenderness and compassion and active benevolence and abounding love toward men, all alike children of the one eternal Father, individually loved by Him and precious in His sight.

The Lord Jesus Christ is the Supreme Exemplar

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of men, revealing the perfect way of life in an imperfect world. Upon the one hand He fulfilled all righteousness, and upon the other hand He refused to admit to His life anything inconsistent with the righteousness of God or with God's ultimate purpose for humanity. He manifested perfect righteousness, the righteousness which would be practised by all men in a perfect world but may in certain respects be impracticable for His disciples to-day, since they must live their life and fulfil their immediate Christian duty in an imperfect world, and cannot solve their problems of conduct by going out of the world or refusing to meet the demands of Christian brotherhood and Christian citizenship.

If this conception of Jesus Christ as Supreme Exemplar be sound, loyalty to Him and to His example does not involve exact or literal imitation of all His actions and modes of life. Our Lord, so far as we know, never took part in war of any kind. While He delivered Himself more than once out of the hands of His enemies, and "chose His own hour" of sacrificial death, there is no record of His ever offering violent resistance to threatened violence, and in Gethsemane He refused to allow the disciples to draw the sword or fight in His defence. But it does not follow that His disciples must never offer violent resistance to aggression or that they must not wage war. In a sinless world of perfectly righteous men war would have no place. In such a world no nation would wantonly attack or wilfully injure another nation, and there would be no aggression to evoke armed resistance. But the world is not sinless. Man wrongs his

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brother. Nation threatens nation with violence, robbery, invasion, domination, and enslavement ; and while aggression continues, war may be mankind's ultimate weapon of necessary defence against it. Jesus Christ, as Supreme Exemplar, would probably have stood aside from war, had the summons and challenge come to Him, because war is the outcome of human sin and contrary to the ultimate righteousness of man. Jesus Christ, as Supreme Exemplar, incarnate to reveal God's perfect will for man, might have refused to take part even in defensive war, as He did refuse to adopt the ascetic practice of John the Baptist regarding wine. And yet He might have held it to be the duty of His disciples in that age, as He may hold it to be the duty of His disciples in this age, to render military service or to wage war in a good cause.

Professor H. H. Farmer¹ rests the pacifist position finally upon an intuitive judgment or moral conviction regarding war and the mind of Christ. No one can argue to any profit for or against intuitions, which are not created by process of argument and presumably cannot be destroyed by process of argument. A man either has a particular intuition or moral conviction or he does not have it, and two men of comparable intelligence and equal sincerity may have intuitions and convictions which are diametrically opposed one to the other. Certain Christians have an intuition that participation in war is contrary to the mind of Christ, but other Christians have an intuition that unconditional submission to aggression is contrary to the mind of Christ and that in certain circumstances

¹ 'The Christian Faith and the Common Life.'

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Christians ought to take part in war. Who shall decide between these contrary intuitions? Appeal to intuition, if not irrelevant, is indecisive in any debate. It may explain the origin of moral conviction, but it affords no help towards the resolution of honest differences of conviction. The responsibility for decision still rests upon the individual conscience, and the individual is left with the responsibility of using all available means of seeking and gaining the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The Cross has been termed the very seal of the example of Jesus Christ. But how far ought the Cross and our Lord's death upon the Cross to be regarded as an example for Christian men and women? When one remembers the agony of Gethsemane and Calvary, one may doubt if the Cross was His chosen way even for Himself, though He loyally accepted it in submission to the Father's will, as the way appointed for him and the way of the world's redemption. "The implication of the example of the Cross" is not that Christian disciples must give themselves to a death of sacrifice for the world's salvation, as a thing which 'must be' and is appointed for them, nor that they can save the world by their death upon a Cross, as He saved and saves the world by His. Its implication is rather that they should follow Him in sacrifice for great and necessary cause—sacrifice in and for itself has neither value nor merit—and that they should endeavour to grow more and more into spiritual fellowship with Him, shrinking from no necessary sacrifice, striving indeed to serve Him by life rather than by death, yet ready to suffer all things for Christ's sake and the brethren's,

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ready to give themselves unto death, yea, the death of a Cross, for the redemption of mankind and the advancement of God's Kingdom.

"The redemptive way of the Cross" is a phrase much used in the exposition of the pacifist position, and sometimes so used that it seems to assume the main point at issue between the pacifist Christian and the non-pacifist Christian. When the element of non-resistance in Christ's sacrifice of Himself upon the Cross is so stressed as to appear the essential element, and non-resistance is declared to be the only Christian way of meeting aggressive evil, the inference is apt to be drawn that the Cross can be isolated from Christ's complete work of redemption; that an adequate representation of the way of redemption can be obtained by ignoring everything in His life except the Cross; and that by the way of non-resistance alone can Christians become in any sense of the words 'saviours' or 'redeemers' to others or lead sinners effectually to the one Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. The Cross is fundamentally redemptive, and remains for ever enshrined and spiritually potent at the heart of the Gospel, central in the redemption which Jesus Christ has wrought for men; but His whole life and ministry, His incarnation, teaching, life, death, resurrection, and ascension, and the gift of the Holy Spirit, are essential to His redemptive work. Nothing in the Cross is contrary to or inconsistent with the complete work of Divine redemption, nor can anything else so perfectly manifest and illumine the Divine heart and will; but no representation of the way of redemption for mankind can be adequate which ignores any part of the

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teaching and ministry of Jesus Christ. The judgments of God upon evil also constitute an element in the Divine redemptive way, and within their measure they justify human judgment upon and punishment of evil-doers. To the reality of the Divine judgments our Lord's own parables bear witness.

The way of the Cross was redemptive, and the way of the Cross for Jesus Christ was a way of non-resistance to the aggressive violence of wicked men ; but the way of the Cross expresses far more than non-resistance, if indeed non-resistance can be regarded as belonging to its essence. God's gift of His own Son for the world's redemption and Jesus Christ's acceptance of the Cross represent a very active mode of Divine resistance to and spiritual assault upon evil. On the eve of His passion our Lord claimed that He had overcome the world (John xvi. 33). The Resurrection is the complement and fulfilment of the Crucifixion, and in Jesus Christ death is swallowed up in victory.

The Christian dare not, however, make himself equal to Christ, or allow any sacrifice of himself which he can offer up to be put on the same plane as that sacrifice of Himself which the eternal Son of God offered for the world's redemption. And it is at least doubtful whether it is the will of God, or the way of wise and holy love, or in any sense an effective way of redemption for the world that Christians should in every imaginable circumstance of life practise non-resistance. Love—the love of man and the love of God—may and will upon occasion call the Christian to non-resistance, to the uttermost sacrifice, possibly to the endurance of ignominious

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death or even literal crucifixion. But Christian redemption has its full rounded orb of method. Jesus Christ, who is Love, and gave Himself in sacrifice upon the Cross for man's redemption, may smite in order that He may save, seeing and enduring and inflicting travail of soul, that He may see of the travail of His soul and may be satisfied.

All these considerations warn the disciple against the acceptance of any conception of loyalty to the example of the Lord Jesus Christ which would involve literal and unthinking imitation, and emphasise anew the importance and necessity of right motive and spiritual quality and continual fellowship with the living Lord. Even in regard to the example of Jesus Christ, "the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." A merely mechanical imitation can be of little value. Loyalty to the spirit and the will of Jesus Christ is essential to any real following of His example, and in the present condition of the world such loyalty may lead the disciple either to the battlefield, armed with carnal weapons, or to a cross of wood, armed only with the mind that was in Christ. There is but one ultimate principle of Christian righteousness, and that is love, the love which our Lord continually manifested both in His words and in His deeds, love for man inspired by that love of God which is both God's love for man and man's returning love for God. The royal law of love is royal in its origin, royal in its liberty, royal in the largeness alike of its gifts and of its demands. No man can prescribe or define beforehand what it will require from him or from others in every future circumstance of life. Every wise Christian knows that it may demand all.

CHAPTER VII.

WARS ANCIENT AND MODERN.

ONE feature of present-day pacifism is the insistence of its reference to *modern* war and the persistence with which it draws a sharp distinction, not only by implication, but also by explicit statement, between ancient wars and modern wars. In the 1934 General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for instance, the pacifist group committed itself to the assertion that "modern war by its scale, methods, and effects is a thing different not only in degree but in kind from the thing known as war in the past."

Now it is obvious that any war which can come upon the world of to-day or to-morrow must be a modern war. It would presumably be fought with modern weapons. Its scale would probably be greater than that of any previous war, its methods more destructive and perhaps more horrible, its effects more disastrous. Therefore to press home upon the mind and conscience of mankind the nature of the probable accompaniments and consequences of any war of the near future is to do a good work. But the pacifist insistence upon a difference in kind between ancient and modern

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war is puzzling. Do pacifists wish to suggest that while modern war is abomination to the Lord, ancient war was well-pleasing in His sight? Do they wish to suggest that participation in war would be permissible and virtuous for the Christian to-day, if only it were waged with primitive weapons or in accordance with mediæval strategy and tactics? The main pacifist argument appears to be that war stands condemned in the sight of Jesus Christ because of its essential nature and inevitable consequences. If this argument be sound, why weaken it or obscure the issue by drawing a distinction of doubtful validity between modern war and ancient war? If the essence of war be slaughter, when was it anything different? If participation in war of any kind be inconsistent with loyalty to Jesus Christ, what war of all the Christian centuries has been for Christians a lawful war? If the moral and spiritual evils which manifested themselves during the Great War arose out of the very nature of war, how could like evils fail to manifest themselves in mediæval or ancient war? Perhaps pacifism finds practical advantages for itself in an argument which dismisses the past. Only a rash student of history would assert that war has never achieved anything, that the armed resistance of Christian Europe to the Mohammedan invasion of the eighth century proved injurious either to the cause of civilisation or to the Christian faith, or that later wars of political and religious emancipation served no good purpose in the providence of God. No one can calculate with any approach to accuracy the effect of the might-have-beens of history. No one can explain convincingly how the development of

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a nation or a continent or the progress of humanity or the spread of Christianity would have been affected, if this war or that had not been fought. The thorough-going modern pacifist who maintains that no conceivable circumstances can justify participation in war now or in the future must welcome the contention that a great gulf of unbridgeable difference is fixed between modern war and "anything known as war in the past."

The differences alleged appear to be in fact differences of degree, and not of kind. The scale of modern war is indeed stupendous, but the moral quality of war cannot be measured by its scale. In Britain, for instance, the War of 1914-18 mobilised the fit manhood of the nation instead of a small professional army; and that desperate conflict engaged millions of men drawn from the five continents, dug its trenches across Europe, carried its battles to distant seas and to the ends of the earth, occupied the inventive genius of mankind for four long years, and poured out money and blood like water. Any future war would probably involve the conscription not only of manhood but of womanhood, for munition-making and other services auxiliary to war, if not for actual fighting, and might bring the whole population of a country, non-combatant and combatant alike, women and children as well as men, within the range of hostilities. Its cost in treasure and in life would be incalculable. But the essential nature of war has not altered. Its aims, its methods, and its effects are substantially the same. Weapons of war have always been designed to wound, to disable, and to slay. Tactics and strategy have always been designed to defeat

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the enemy, to break down his resistance, to throw back his assault, and to reduce him to despair and submission. Poison gas is a horrible modern invention, but primitive tribes had their poisoned arrows. In the days of long ago dagger or sword or lance could let out life effectively enough. And one may doubt whether the soldier who was disembowelled with a scythe or 'cleft to the chine' by a battle-axe or skewered on an old-fashioned bayonet suffered less than the soldier who is blown to pieces by high-explosive shell or aerial bomb. Modern weapons are more destructive and more terrifying, and modern conditions of warfare impose a greater strain on nerve and brain. Invention has increased the intensity of small-gun fire and the range of shell-fire. The aeroplane attacks from above the clouds, and the submarine from beneath the waters of the sea. To-day the combatant is liable to be wounded or killed by a foeman whom he has never seen or by a missile launched from a distance of many miles, whereas in ancient warfare men fought eye to eye and hand to hand, and the individual had better opportunity to defend and protect himself. But even the ancient warrior could save himself only by disabling or killing his immediate adversary, and advantage always lay with the man whose bodily strength or military equipment or skill in arms was exceptional. The immediate effects of war have always been wounds and suffering, death and destruction, privation, loss, anxiety, fear, and the sorrow of bereavement. Famous victories always had their price, and defeat its dire consequences. While ancient weapons killed their thousands, modern weapons may kill

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their tens of thousands ; but among the fighting men of former days disease slew multitudes, whereas to-day preventive medicine guards the health of armies in field and camp, and skilled surgery and nursing restore many to strength and vigour. In ancient war the wounded suffered cruelly from wounds received in battle, and might suffer mutilation or torture if they fell into the hands of savage enemies. The non-combatant population also suffered cruelly, when a country was invaded, when its crops were consumed and its cattle seized, when its towns were besieged or sacked, when children perished of famine and women were dishonoured and the surviving manhood of the country might be massacred or reduced to serfdom or sold into slavery. The records of ancient and mediæval war depict scenes as horrible as modern warfare can produce. The ancient wars of extermination, the assaults launched by barbarian tribes upon the declining Roman Empire, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and the Napoleonic campaigns in Prussia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Russia must have produced effects comparable in nature and in intensity to those of modern war in Belgium and France, in Abyssinia, in China, in Spain. Some great wars of the past must have been as destructive to bygone civilisations as another great European war might be to our own. The more a nation has to lose, the greater are the losses which war may inflict upon it. The more highly organised national or international life becomes, the more overwhelming and far-reaching must be the effects of war upon the world. All these differences, however, appear to be differences of degree, not of kind.

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The invention of high explosives, poison gas, and bombing planes has indeed created a new technique of war. In the first place it exposes the civilian or non-combatant population to unprecedented danger and injury. Almost any part of any country can now be raided from the air, and in a highly organised society it becomes increasingly difficult to draw a line of division between military and non-military objectives. The central seat of government is normally a great city. Munition works and other factories must be placed at no great distance from population. Railways and roads are vital to transport, and railway stations, junctions, and bridges are found in populous places. Every means of communication, almost every factory, and possibly every centre of population may be regarded as a military objective and subjected to attack. Even if a sincere desire to avoid injury to non-combatants could be assumed, they could not escape danger, terror, and grievous suffering, and recent events suggest that a deliberate policy of attack upon non-combatants and of terrorisation would probably be adopted by certain nations. Such considerations set in clearer light the criminal folly and mad wickedness of those who would let loose war upon the world; but they do not supply an answer to the fundamental question, Ought the Christian to submit to any and every aggression, because the consequences of resisting aggression are so terrible? This new technique of war, it may be said, will also render warring nations unscrupulous. Victory will seem so necessary to every nation for its safety or well-being that it will be tempted to use every available weapon of offence or defence.

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Bombing planes enable a blow which may be fatal to a nation's safety or fighting power to be struck almost in a night, so that speed in attack has become essential, and no nation will dare to risk its safety or lose its chance of victory by delaying to strike. Even if any nation should hesitate to use weapons and methods which are forbidden by international law and which it has pledged itself to renounce, its hesitation would vanish as soon as an enemy nation employed them against it. Non-combatants would suffer intolerable evils, and combatants would be required to inflict them. Such an argument, however, assumes the permanent impossibility of securing the honourable observance of international conventions and agreements for the amelioration of war. Upon that assumption what would be the value of any pledge, even a pledge of pacifism? Such agreements and conventions have been observed in the past and may be observed in the future. The ultimate abolition of war can be secured only by consent of nations, by concerted action and loyalty on the part of every nation to its pledged word. If good faith is for ever impossible, what hope of abiding peace remains?

In the past efforts to minimise the horrors of war have been made from time to time. The laws of chivalry did something to redeem mediæval war from sheer brutality, and shining examples of knightly magnanimity and courtesy and mercifulness illumine the dark pages of history; but the benefits of chivalry were limited to the privileged few, and belted knights could be brutal enough in their treatment of the base-born. Among civilised nations it became the usual—though not the in-

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variable—practice to grant life to the foe who surrendered, and the rigours of captivity might be alleviated for prisoners of war, more often perhaps by private charity and compassion than by official provision. The nineteenth century, with its fond belief in the inevitability of progress, planned conventions which would make warfare more humane, until the happy day should dawn when wars would cease; and before 1914 the nations had solemnly pledged themselves to refrain from the use of poison gas, to attach certain restrictions to submarine warfare, and to respect the international Red Cross organisation in its work of mercy. War seemed to have entered on a less barbarous phase, though any savage people armed with primitive weapons which pitted itself in battle against an army equipped with modern weapons was doomed to suffer horrid slaughter. Even when war broke upon Europe in 1914 the majority of men still hoped for a clean war. Dean Inge, for instance, has put on record his reading of the spirit and temper in which our own nation as a whole answered the call to arms: "It was a horrible and utterly unforeseen misfortune, but we would show the Germans that as we had gone to war on the point of honour, we would fight them like chivalrous gentlemen and then shake hands. . . . It took us some time to realise that a war with Germany was not a rather rough game of football. . . . It was not till the bombardment of the undefended Yorkshire watering-places, . . . the illegal use of poison gas, . . . and above all the Lusitania crime, that the whole nation blazed out into fierce anger, the like of which only a few old men could remember

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when in 1857 news came of the massacre of Cawnpore. Until the passion of hatred was aroused, we had no bitter feelings against our enemies.”¹ Later came the “cold fury” which possessed the nation and unfortunately survived the armistice, due not only to propaganda and lying tales of atrocity or to the inevitable effects of war, but also to the authenticated records of German deeds and policy. The experiences of the war years and of recent months have shaken men’s faith, not only in the humanising effect of education and the inevitability of progress, but also in the validity or efficacy of any convention which seeks to limit the use of war’s worst weapons or to prevent the use of methods of war which no self-respecting soldier could desire to use. Germany, unless her own writers and spokesmen gravely misrepresented her, deliberately adopted a policy of frightfulness on the outbreak of the Great War. She tore up any inconvenient scraps of paper, wrought needless destruction upon monuments of antiquity and beauty, and introduced methods of warfare forbidden by international conventions to which she was signatory, even while she inflicted ruthless punishment in the lands she had invaded upon non-combatants who transgressed or were accused of transgressing the laws of war. She endeavoured to conquer the world not by military prowess alone, but also by methods of terrorism. And to-day it seems to be almost taken for granted that in any future war worse will befall; that so-called necessity will claim to know no law; that no solemn engagement will be other than a scrap of paper; that any weapon

¹ ‘The Lay Thoughts of a Dean’ (First Series).

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which can be used, whether in offence or in defence, will be used ; that the only concern of the nation which has resolved to wage war, and perhaps also of the nation which fears to have war waged against it, will be to strike first and to strike hard ; that ruthless attack will be made on every centre of population which can shelter troops or further military activity ; and that a constant aim will be to break down enemy morale by the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians and non-combatants, men, women, and children.¹

These things are not indeed distinctive of modern war. Ancient warfare was just as savage. Weapons were always as deadly as men could make them. Bad faith and disregard of solemn obligations characterised many a bygone conflict of nations. But these features of modern war, like so much else in modern life, are a reversion to barbarism. Moral standards have decayed, in part at least because Christian faith has been lost and Christian motives and standards are disregarded. The sense of the sacredness of the pledged word has weakened, and the bindingness of solemn treaties and undertakings is cynically denied. Therefore insecurity and fear have come upon the world, fear of what the other man or the other nation may do ; and in fear men clutch at any weapon.

¹ " The German Air Force will be frightful when the command comes. Then we shall become the terror of our enemies. . . . In this new German Air Force no mere instrument for peaceful show is being made, but instead the sharpest instrument of war which we can possibly produce. . . . I want iron men in the Air Force with the will to the deed. There will be nothing which will hold back our unfettered spirit of attack."—(Field-Marshal Göring : 1st March 1938.)

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It may be argued that the attempt to humanise war is unreasonable as well as futile ; that it is illogical to condemn certain weapons as illegal, and permit others which may equally cause acute suffering, lifelong disablement, tragic disfigurement, instant or agonising death ; that the old distinction between combatant and non-combatant is out of date in a highly organised and mechanised society, where the whole community is engaged in manufacturing munitions of war or in producing food and clothing for the fighting forces or in endeavouring to restore the wounded to health and vigour ; that since nation is pitted against nation in war, women and children have no valid claim to exemption from its rigours and dangers, women being the actual or potential mothers of fighting sons, and children being the future strength of any nation. But war itself has always been illogical as a method of determining the rights and wrongs of a dispute, and it is to-day the most unreasonable means of resolving international conflict. If, therefore, the nations can agree to prohibit even a limited number of weapons and certain specific methods of war, all men of goodwill might well rejoice, and all nations gladly observe even the illogical rules and restrictions imposed by international pact or international law.

Methods of barbarism are not necessarily the methods of war. High-souled men finding themselves reluctantly engaged in war, might fight—to use Dean Inge's phrase—"like chivalrous gentlemen" ; but any nation which thrusts war upon the world to-day is not likely to be led by high-souled men or to fight chivalrously. Modern war

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need not involve the use of illegal weapons or forbidden methods, if nations would honour their pledged word ; but in the light of recent events one must recognise that it is impossible to count upon the universal observance even of specific agreements. Some hold that on the outbreak of war every nation would disregard all restrictions and limitations, either from deliberate policy or in fear that its adversaries would disregard them. An aggressive nation which was prepared to force the horrors of war upon the world would be unlikely to hesitate over so comparatively trifling an offence as disloyalty to its pledged word or to show much regard for humaneness in the conduct of its campaigns. Moreover, the use of illegal weapons and forbidden methods by one nation—and each nation would probably accuse its adversary of being the first offender—would almost certainly provoke their use by every other nation. Individuals might try to maintain their ideals, based on intellectual or moral conviction, even in war ; but when strong passions are stirred, the multitude gives little heed to reason or moral sentiment, and reprisals would speedily be demanded by popular clamour.

That the policy of reprisal is the best policy, even from the point of view of ultimate advantage, is by no means certain. Those who engage in sports like football may find themselves at times faced with the dilemma of deciding how to play against an individual or a team which persistently infringes the laws of the game. Some even in the heat of youth have come to the conclusion that the wisest and best course is not to retaliate with foul against foul, but to play fairly even against

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an unfair opponent ; and they reach this conclusion, not simply and perhaps not mainly out of regard for the moral and religious considerations which should govern conduct on the sports field as well as elsewhere, but because they believe that the course of action on which they have decided is best for the game, best for the individual player, and best for his team. Provocation may be extreme enough to break through good resolutions, and unfair play may become a species of terrorism, against which concerted action may seem necessary ; but broadly the conclusion holds that on the sports field patience under injury is better than retaliation, and that victory gained by ' playing the game ' is the only victory worth having. In war, of course, far greater issues are at stake, the life of the soldier and those dependent on him for protection, the safety of one's country, the defence of small nations, the cause of liberty or honest dealing or international good faith ; but it is at least an arguable proposition that to meet savagery with savagery and illegal weapons with illegal weapons is not the best policy even in war. To persuade the average man, however, that non-retaliation is better than retaliation is difficult enough even in time of peace and upon the playing field. How much more difficult must it be to persuade him to practise the Christian virtue of non-retaliation in time of war upon the deadly field of battle, especially if he has seen his comrades suffer agony or knows that his nation has suffered grievous wrong.

Even in war the prohibition of retaliation is binding upon the Christian, and reprisal *qua* reprisal cannot be justified. Reprisal in war may be advo-

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cated, however, not as a measure of retaliation, but as a means of self-defence or as a deterrent or as a method of preventing an unscrupulous enemy from gaining too great advantage by his unscrupulousness. So far as illegal weapons are concerned, it is difficult to resist the argument that their employment by one combatant justifies their employment by his adversary. Even a horrible weapon like poison gas differs from other weapons of war only in degree of horror, and it is difficult to discern any reason in logic or ethics why a nation whose forces have been attacked with poison gas should not adopt and use the same weapon against the forces of the nation which first employed it. No sane man need desire to add poison gas to the already sufficient horrors of war, and the soldiers against whom it was first launched in the Great War were infuriated by its introduction. If its use can be effectively countered by the use of means less horrible, let these be used, despite the popular demand for retaliation and revenge. But if the only effective counter-weapon to poison gas is poison gas, its use as a defensive measure cannot be condemned on grounds of reason or morality. Whether its continued use by an army which had passed from defence to the offensive could be morally justified is another question ; but experience strongly suggests that those who had suffered grievous losses through the unprovoked use of such a weapon would be very unlikely to abandon its use when the initiative had passed into their hands and victory was at last in sight. The same argument might be used, and has been used, to justify retaliatory attacks upon non-combatants, but here a

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distinction, clear in fact if not in logic, can be drawn. Attack upon non-combatants is declared to be contrary to international law. War as a struggle of combatant against combatant may be held justifiable in certain circumstances, despite its horrid concomitants of wounding, maiming, and slaughter, and weapon may legitimately be pitted against weapon in the hands of fighting men ; but attack upon non-combatants is contrary to all the laws of civilised war, and attack upon inoffensive women and children can never be justified. That non-combatants have always suffered in past wars, and would inevitably suffer even more grievously in any future war, is not disputed ; but deliberately to bomb women and children or to let loose poison gas upon them is to be guilty of brutality which stands in a category all its own. The fact, if fact it be, that one nation has been guilty of such a crime against humanity cannot justify another nation in perpetrating it. The advocates of reprisals may urge that attacks upon non-combatants threaten to destroy the morale of any nation which suffers them, that the only effective military reply to such base methods of warfare is to imitate them, that retaliation against the women and children of the aggressor constitutes the only means by which such attacks can be discouraged and brought to an end. It may be difficult on logical grounds to resist the argument that if military advantage is being gained by such means, they have become part of the operations of war and may legitimately be countered by similar means, nor have the non-combatants of the nation which first launches such attacks any rational

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ground for complaint, if like treatment is measured out to them. And yet one cannot doubt that such reprisals are evil. One may hope that the spirit of a free people would not be intimidated nor its resistance broken by attacks upon its women and children. One may believe that any military advantage which might be gained by retaliation would be trifling, and may doubt if retaliation would put an end to attacks upon non-combatants. But whatever logic may urge or military necessity allege, the bombing of women and children should be recognised as belonging to the same category as the shelling of medical-aid posts and the sinking of hospital ships, the category of things which are not done by decent folk even under extreme provocation. The militarist may say that if it is right to resist aggression by defensive war, it is right to use the means which are found to be necessary for victory; but the militarist's view of what is necessary may be erroneous, and the Christian cannot subscribe to the doctrine that the end justifies the means. The non-pacifist Christian who reluctantly sanctions defensive war, as the only present alternative to submission to aggression, is not prepared to adopt every method of warfare which the militarist may approve or demand. Victory in war may be won too dear. From the Christian standpoint defeat in a righteous cause may be better than victory gained by methods unworthy of the cause. "For Christians ethical considerations can never become irrelevant; and, even when victory may seem at stake, the Church cannot admit that military operations, whether by bombing or otherwise, which have the civil

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population, including women and children, as their deliberate objective, can ever be brought within the definition of legitimate 'defence.'"¹

Such features of recent warfare as the deliberate bombing of non-combatants, including women and children, were revolting to every sensitive conscience; but the pacifist is not entitled to assume that they will be a normal feature of every future war. Armies have observed restraints in the past, and will observe them again, if the nations recover respect for "the ideas of organised decency that are international law." The pacifist who claims for himself both the right and the courage to refuse to take part in any future war, no matter what the circumstances may be under which war may break out, must not deny to the non-pacifist who undertakes military service either the right or the courage to refuse at any time to use methods of war which are repugnant to his conscience. Let it be at once admitted that the ordinary combatant would find it extraordinarily difficult to refuse obedience to military orders in time of war. The prevailing sentiment of his fellows would probably be against him. He might argue with himself that his superior officers were in a better position than he to judge the necessities of the military situation. He might argue that insubordination in time of war is so fatal to military discipline and efficiency that nothing can justify it, and that responsibility for the deed demanded of him rested on those who gave the order. He might simply shrink from the penalty of disobedience, which might well be the extreme penalty. Yet one must hold that the

¹ 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War.'

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Christian soldier would be justified in refusing to obey an order to let loose poison gas or drop bombs on helpless women and children, and that if his conscience forbade obedience; as one trusts it would, he should refuse obedience. Part of the pacifist argument appears to be that modern war inevitably involves the use of every abominable method of warfare, and that good Christians are not sufficiently numerous anywhere to prevent war from degenerating into utter savagery. But if human nature is capable of a heroic and self-sacrificing pacifism, human nature is capable of waging war with some regard for decency. If good Christians are not numerous enough in any nation to prevent war from degenerating into utter savagery, good Christians are not numerous enough in any nation to make pacifism practicable as a national policy.

One may hope that even in the worst event the Church will maintain steadfast protest against reprisals of the baser sort. At the same time one must recognise that if war should break out and illegal weapons or forbidden methods of war be used against any nation, popular clamour would demand reprisals in kind, persuasive arguments in their favour could be urged, the higher military command might order them to be carried out, and even if individual combatants refused for conscience' sake to execute such orders, other combatants would be found willing and eager to be the instruments of vengeance and destruction and cruelty. If war should break out in the near future and take the course which many fear that future wars will take, those who contend for decency in warfare would probably find them-

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selves in a hopeless minority and see their scruples disregarded.

The nations have not yet indeed lost hope of recovering decency in war and honour in international relationships, or perhaps one should rather say that they have not yet ceased to protest against their disregard. The terms of the note which Great Britain addressed to Japan in August 1937 were valuable as a testimony to the world, if as nothing more :—

“The Japanese Government will be aware of the injuries sustained by Sir H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, His Majesty’s Ambassador in China, as a result of shooting from Japanese military aeroplanes when motoring with members of his staff from Nanking to Shanghai on August 26 last.

“... His Majesty’s Government in the United Kingdom have received with deep distress and concern the news of this deplorable event, in respect of which they must record their emphatic protest and request the fullest measure of redress.

“Although non-combatants, including foreigners resident in the country concerned, must accept the inevitable risk of injury resulting indirectly from the normal conduct of hostilities, it is one of the oldest and best established rules of international law that direct or deliberate attacks on non-combatants are absolutely prohibited, whether inside or outside the area in which hostilities are taking place. Aircraft are in no way exempt from this rule, which applies as much to attack from the air as to any other form of attack.

“Nor can the plea of accident be accepted where

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the facts are such as to show, at the best, negligence and a complete disregard for the sanctity of civilian life. In the present case the facts which have been recorded above make it clear that this was no accident resulting from any normal hostile operation, and it should have been obvious to the aircraft that they were dealing with non-combatants.

"The plea, should it be advanced, that the flags carried on the cars were too small to be visible is irrelevant. There would have been no justification for the attack even had the cars carried no flags at all.

"The foreign, even the diplomatic, status of the occupants is also irrelevant. The real issue is that they were non-combatants. The aircraft no doubt did not intend to attack His Majesty's Ambassador as such. They apparently did intend to attack non-combatants, and that suffices in itself to constitute an illegality.

"... His Majesty's Government feel that they must take this opportunity to emphasise the wider significance of this event. It is an outstanding example of the results to be expected from indiscriminate attack from the air. Such events are inseparable from the practice, as illegal as it is inhuman, of failing to draw that clear distinction between combatants and non-combatants in the conduct of hostilities which international law, no less than the conscience of mankind, has always enjoined."

Such protests, however, whether made by powerful nations or by an international body like the League of Nations, have been ignored or answered with

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evasion. Appeals to reason or conscience, to considerations of humanity or to the love of God, go unheeded. Neither protest nor appeal appears likely to produce any revival of respect for what is termed international law on the part of offending nations, unless the offenders can be convinced that other nations will no longer tolerate such adventures as those of Italy in Abyssinia or Japan in China, and will enforce protest by action, not shrinking in the last resort from war itself. The conclusion that the best hope of preserving peace is to pile up armaments or threaten war against aggression is a melancholy one at which to arrive in the twentieth Christian century, but it is the conclusion to which many sincere lovers of peace and earnest workers for peace have reluctantly been driven by the logic of events. International law, like every other law, depends on force, in the sense that unless its judgments and decisions can be enforced, it ceases to be effective, falls into general contempt, and comes more and more to be disregarded. The present state of international affairs cannot endure, nor can it be allowed to develop indefinitely at the cost of the weaker nations of the world, till the inevitable clash of powerful nations is reached. If civilisation is to survive, men and nations and their rulers must regain respect for their pledged word, for decency and honour, for truth and righteousness. Christians will add that if civilisation is to secure prosperity or happiness for the world, men must also learn to love one another and to acknowledge the supremacy of love. But the perplexity of the moment is to discern how either desired consummation is to be attained.

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The present outlook is dark. Some find a ray of light in the belief that no strong European nation desires war with any other strong European nation. Some hope that even if war should come, the great nations will observe the restrictions which international law and treaty have prescribed, if only for prudential reasons and as a means of self-preservation. The stubborn fact, however, remains that certain strong nations even in these latest days have shown themselves only too willing to make war upon weak nations, and have inflicted war's worst abominations upon their victims. And other strong nations, because they love peace or because they fear war, have refused to protect the weak. Even the League of Nations failed to rally its surviving members to effective intervention, and no Great Power would take the risk and responsibility of isolated action. A major clash has so far been averted, only because the strong nations did not regard the threat to their own interests as sufficiently grave to justify war, or because they were not prepared to risk war in order to resist aggression. They have avoided war by allowing aggressors to work their will upon the weak. But self-interest is no sufficient bulwark of peace. There are doubtless limits to the patience or complaisance of peace-loving or peace-desiring nations, and a point at which even prudence or self-interest will bid the strong cry halt to lawless aggression. A strong nation can find only dubious satisfaction in the thought that it has saved its own people from war by allowing its weak neighbours to be victimised, despoiled, invaded, or enslaved, and the most peace-loving men are beginning to

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ask what the consequences of such non-resistance are likely to be even for strong nations and for the world at large. Can war be long averted or permanently averted by such procedure? Aggressor nations, grown arrogant through successful aggression, may embark upon adventures in which other nations will not acquiesce or may make demands which pride will not allow them to withdraw and which pride or prudence will not allow other nations to concede. At any moment the breaking-point may be reached, and meanwhile the whole international situation deteriorates.

The worst feature of the present state of affairs, so far as the future amelioration or abolition of war is concerned, is neither the new glorification of war nor the reversion to barbarous methods of warfare, deplorable as these may be, but the deliberate breach of covenant and solemn engagement. The hope of lasting international peace lies in agreement reached by general consent of nations and honourably observed. When the sacredness of the pledged word is scoffed at and the bindingness of pact or treaty is denied, the very foundations of social order are shaken. What security for peace can be found, when nation cannot trust the most solemn undertaking of nation? What hope remains for human progress or the development of the social virtues or the ordered life of society, while any nation recognises no law but its own will? Consent and concert of nations should render war obsolete; but till these can be secured and made effective, war will remain the ultimate resort. An enduring peace will never be secured by submission to lawless aggression. Peace can reign

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only in righteousness. What the world needs to-day for its healing is a change of heart, and that can come only as the result of spiritual influence, only by the power of the Spirit of God working in the hearts of men. Wisdom, therefore, requires that all who profess and call themselves Christians should yield themselves more perfectly to the will of God and endeavour to bring spiritual influence to bear more effectively upon their fellows. But till the change of heart shall come, Christian men must stand on guard, and use the means which God has put within their power for their own protection and the protection of their brethren of mankind. If international morality to-day is bankrupt, there seems the less reason for accepting the pacifist view that unilateral disarmament by the nations which most desire peace would serve the cause of peace, or that universal submission to aggression would serve the cause of Jesus Christ and bring in the Kingdom of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

PARTICIPATION IN WAR.

WHAT then does participation in war involve? War is a beastly business, as those who have seen it at close quarters know well. No good purpose can be served by trying to conceal its realities or to palliate its horrors; and one positive gain from those methods of recent warfare which have shocked the conscience of mankind is that they are bringing the shambles of the battlefield into the very market-place, so that plain men and women may see in their towns and villages the sickening spectacle of a butchery which gives no heed to discriminations of sex or age and is unconcerned even with the laws of humane slaughter. "Cruelty and barbarity, mutilation and death of non-combatants, destruction of property, starvation and misery" have been specified by a leading British statesman, who is credited with being realistic and unsentimental, as "the inevitable accompaniments of modern warfare." Anyone who is disposed to glorify war should endeavour to visualise what war means. No one has any right to sanction even reluctant participation in defensive or protective war who has not tried to realise what war requires or may

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require of the combatant and what war inflicts or may inflict upon the non-combatant.

The indictment against war contains many counts : that its essence is slaughter ; that it stirs up evil passions and renders love impotent ; that it weakens moral restraints and lowers moral standards ; that it disregards personality and necessitates the indiscriminate use of force ; that it achieves nothing of good ; that it destroys faith and injures the cause of religion ; that it is the negation of the Gospel of Christ, a hindrance to all the work of His Church, and a grievous impediment to the advancement of God's Kingdom. The accuracy of the indictment cannot be seriously challenged. The statement that the essence of war is slaughter is not indeed accurate. War in its essence is neither the giving nor the taking of life. Its essence is fighting, and men fight to gain victory. In war the combatant seldom desires to "lay down his life for his friends" : he hopes that he may escape wounds and death ; but he knows the perils of war, and he is prepared to sacrifice his life for the cause for which he fights. The combatant seldom desires to take the life of his enemy, unless in the heat of battle or under great provocation or in the cold cruelty which a prolonged war may beget ; but he must always be prepared to kill. His prime task in war is to assail his adversary with death-dealing weapons, and he is normally prepared to take the life of as many of those who fight against him as will secure victory for his country or his cause. War does kindle and release evil passions in men's hearts. It poisons the springs of feeling. It drives out love or renders it temporarily impotent.

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The soldier who comes of a kindly race may feel little hatred for an enemy nation or for the individual members of that nation against whom he fights upon the battlefield, and it has often been remarked that non-combatants of both sexes may be found to display a ferocity and bitterness of spirit which the soldier seldom manifests; but in the heat of battle few combatants can maintain philosophic or unphilosophic detachment from passion. When a man is fighting for dear life, he is not likely to be passionless. When a man is 'fighting mad,' love is not the dominant emotion of his soul. Fear can beget hatred, and the sheer lust of slaughter may possess men's hearts. War also sunders personal relationships and international friendships. The soldier cannot spare his foe or show mercy, until his foe surrenders. War "rouses such antagonisms as make it almost grotesquely difficult for those who engage in it to view their adversaries as brothers for whom Christ died." War de-personalises the relationship between a man and his neighbour or between a man and his enemy. In war the individual loses his distinctiveness and his value, and becomes simply 'cannon fodder': the nation is viewed as a unit, and the innocent suffer with the guilty. Moreover, the moral and spiritual evils which accompany war are grievous, and they are disastrous not only to individual character, but also to the life of the nation. War makes unnatural demands upon human nature, and imposes unnatural deprivations, which provoke reactions of lawlessness and reckless self-indulgence. The conditions of modern warfare impose a desperate strain upon both combatants

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and non-combatants. War brutalises the human spirit, lowers ideals, weakens respect for truth and honesty and chastity, and "increases almost every vice throughout the community." The outbreak of war is sometimes accompanied by a seeming revival of religion, but what seemed to be a revival of religion often proves to be little more than a revival of superstition. Men realise their helplessness in the presence of forces which the individual is impotent to control, and cry to God for help for themselves and those they love. They are moved out of themselves by the great demands of the hour, by belief in the righteousness of the cause for which they fight or by devotion to some ideal aim, and they rise to unwonted heights of moral fervour and self-sacrifice. But when reverses come, and the hope of victory grows dim, and prayer does not bring the answer which their hearts desire, doubt revives and moral fervour cools. War is so obviously the thing which from the Christian standpoint should not be, that its abominations and horrors give new point to the age-long difficulties of faith; and the spectacle of Christians warring one against another makes unbelievers scoff the more. To them that love God even the experiences of war can work for good, but in the opinion of the majority of observers the general effect of the Great War of 1914-18 was adverse to religion. Its ultimate effect was to weaken faith, to corrupt virtue, to retard rather than to hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God. How, then, it may be asked, and is indeed being asked insistently to-day by many both within and without the Christian Church, can any Christian justify

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even the most reluctant consent to participation in this shameful madness and wickedness which men call war?

Certain reasons may be suggested :—

- (1) The responsibility for bringing war and its attendant evils upon the world rests not on those who put forth patient and persistent effort to prevent war and to secure the settlement of international disputes by methods of conciliation, but on those who reject all such methods and force war upon a reluctant nation and an unwilling world.
- (2) The situation in which participation in war is held to be justifiable is that in which the only alternative to armed resistance is submission to aggression.
- (3) Aggression is itself an evil thing and ought to be resisted by Christian men.
- (4) Pacifism as a national policy is impracticable, at least in the world of to-day.
- (5) The consequences of national pacifism, which can only be conjectured, might prove to be worse than the consequences of war.

The first four of these reasons are considered in this chapter, and the fifth in the chapter following.

Who, then, is responsible for bringing war and all its evils upon the world? Surely it is the nation or the government of a nation which plans war, threatens war, and makes war, which launches war against another nation in defiance of solemn pledges to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to submit all national grievances to an

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international court, which in making war employs weapons and methods which are forbidden by international law and which it has explicitly promised that it will not employ. The nation responsible for bringing war upon the world is the nation which announces that unless its demands are complied with, it will compel compliance, which brushes aside every offer of negotiation, conference, or arbitration, and refuses to listen to protest, argument, or appeal from any quarter, which openly orders its troops to invade another nation's territory or launches attack without warning or declaration of war. It is all very well to quote the proverb that it takes two to make a quarrel, and to say that the nation which reluctantly meets aggression with armed resistance shares the responsibility of bringing war upon itself and upon the world. The real responsibility lies elsewhere. A nation which threatens aggression may have genuine grievances which ought to be remedied, and if other nations refuse redress for these grievances, they must bear their share of responsibility for what follows; but the prime responsibility for war rests on the nation which resolves on war. No nation has the right to be sole judge in its own cause, when that cause affects other nations. Reasoned statement, negotiation, conference, and submission of matters in dispute to arbitrators mutually agreed on or to a court of international justice constitute the only morally defensible method of seeking remedy for national grievances; and the nation which refuses to enter into conference, to offer or accept arbitration or to submit to the judgment of an international court, choosing rather to make war, is the nation

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which is responsible for bringing war and its evils upon the world.

If I struggle with an armed burglar who endeavours to use his weapons, and if in the struggle he loses his life, am I responsible for that man's death? Only the extreme pacifist who holds that it is wrong to resist a burglar or to offer violent resistance to any wrong-doer will say so. If in default of other means of protecting a child from murder or a woman from outrage I take up arms, and if after protest and warning and appeal have failed, I strike or shoot the bully and kill him, am I responsible for his death or for the sorrow which his death may cause to those who loved him or for the anger and hatred and lust of vengeance which may be kindled in the heart of his friends and comrades? I am the instrument by which death comes upon that man, and my action is the immediate cause of sorrow to some hearts and the enkindling of evil passion in others; but I am not responsible in the sense of being blameworthy. The extreme pacifist may hold that it is unchristian to offer violent resistance to any evil man or to take life under any circumstances, but upon no other ground can he condemn my action. Certainly the analogy between the accidental killing of an armed burglar or the deliberate killing of a lustful bully, on the one hand, and participation in war, on the other hand, has no claim to be a perfect analogy; but upon the point of responsibility it is apt.

The situation in which Christian non-pacifism holds that war may be justified is one in which the only alternative to defensive or protective war

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is submission to aggression. Such a situation may easily arise, and in recent times did actually arise in Abyssinia and China. It is trifling with a tragic subject to suggest that in such a case the nation threatened with aggression, instead of opposing force to force in self-defence, need only use the language of conciliation, plead the justice of its cause and the sincerity of its desire for peace, urge considerations of reason, morality, or religion, offer to submit its cause to the judgment of an international court, and appeal to the League of Nations for protection. The aggressive nation has resolved to use its power without scruple, to defy the world, or at least to 'bluff' the world into allowing it to achieve its purpose. To all the pleas of its selected victim it replies, "Submit, surrender, or I march." The protests and arguments of other nations it rejects or ignores. The nation threatened with aggression has only two alternatives open to it: to offer armed resistance or to submit. The other nations have only two alternatives open to them: to permit aggression or to try to prevent it by force—*i.e.*, by threat of war or by the use of economic sanctions, which may lead to war, or by deliberate act of war. Pacifists may hold that submission is the better way, and that the evils of war are greater than any other; but let there be no dubiety as to the alternatives with which an aggressor nation can confront the world.

Pacifists may argue that what they advocate is not non-resistance or submission to aggression, but non-violent resistance. In its immediate effect, however, non-violent resistance to violent aggression is submission, and no one can foretell its ultimate

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effects. Aggression which is sufficiently ruthless and determined can put an end to non-violent resistance by extirpating the resisters. No doubt even a bloodthirsty tyrant may grow weary of repression and persecution and slaughter, but history records instances of religious persecution and tyranny which were successful in their aims. It is the considered judgment of many whose opinion is worthy of respect that while evil can be finally overcome only by good, there are times when armed aggression can be effectually resisted only by armed defence—*i.e.*, by war.

The Christian non-pacifist condemns aggressive war as whole-heartedly as the pacifist can condemn it; but he holds that defensive or protective war may be justifiable on Christian grounds, not simply or mainly on the ground that a nation is justified in defending itself or protecting others against invasion or wanton attack, but on the ground that aggression is itself evil and ought to be resisted. The issue is fundamentally ethical, not political. It is concerned not with the rights of nationality, but with the rights of humanity. There is indeed much to be said in favour of the view that, since individual nations have brought distinctive contributions to the store of human good, a nation is entitled to defend itself against invasion and the dominance of brute force, and that humanity would be spiritually impoverished by the suppression of nationality; but all questions as to the rights and value of nationality apart, aggression is a crime against the human spirit and therefore a sin against God. Aggression is evil, whether it involve invasion of national territory or invasion

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of the human soul. The plain man who resists aggression is prompted, not simply by an impulse of the unregenerate heart, not simply by the instinct of pugnacity and self-assertion, but by the conviction that aggression ought to be resisted.

Modern pacifism contemplates war almost exclusively as a conflict between nations. History, however, shows that war has had many causes, and that other factors have often been more powerful in provoking war than nationality. There have been civil wars as well as national wars, dynastic wars and social wars and religious wars, wars of national independence and wars of national unification, wars fought for political liberty and wars fought for religious freedom and spiritual emancipation. Some of the most appealing pages of human history describe the heroic resistance in arms with which small nations like Israel, Greece, Scotland, the Netherlands, and Switzerland have opposed the assault of overwhelming power or tyranny. Pacifism condemns all war as "quite fundamentally a defiance of the law of God and a denial of the Cross of Christ." Every war, however, has two aspects. If Austria had decided some months ago to resist Germany's ultimatum and Germany had invaded Austria, Germany's war of aggression would undoubtedly have been "a defiance of the law of God"; but would Austria's defensive war have been the same? Austria was presumably incapable of successful armed resistance, and it may therefore be argued that for her even a war of defence would have been morally unjustifiable. But if Germany had delivered a similar ultimatum to Britain, a nation which could resist aggression

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with good hope of success, and if Germany had attacked Britain and Britain had resisted, would Britain's war of defence have been "a defiance of the law of God?"

In the past, Christian men within a nation have found themselves and their children subjected to conditions so intolerable that they felt compelled to raise the standard of revolt, although they knew that the result would be civil war. They have been denied political liberty and religious liberty, and when protest and appeal have failed and every pacific effort to secure reform has been crushed with violence, they have taken up arms and have fought for their own deliverance and the deliverance of their children. Was it "a defiance of the law of God" or "a denial of the Cross of Christ" that, when every peaceful means of remedy had failed, they should fight for spiritual emancipation? No intelligent man would lightly advocate war to-day even in a good cause. Few Christians would be found to urge their fellow-Christians, however grievously oppressed, to raise the standard of revolt against their rulers and seek remedy for spiritual wrongs by force of arms. Yet one must hesitate to say that such action could never be justifiable. The question is no longer one of merely academic interest. With the revival of despotism and the advent of the totalitarian state in Europe, the very problems which confronted our forefathers in the days of religious persecution may confront us or our children. At times it may be better that Christians should endure all things patiently, as the Confessional Church in Germany is enduring to-day, without suggestion of violent resistance or

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armed revolt ; but one can easily imagine a situation arising, even in Germany and more readily elsewhere, which would appear both intolerable for Christian people and soluble by war, and one hesitates to say that in such circumstances war would be unjustifiable on Christian principles. Armed revolt against tyranny may be essentially a war of defence against spiritual aggression. Pacifism, however, condemns all war in the name of Christ. Is it certain that Jesus Christ disapproved all past wars of defence or spiritual emancipation ? Is it certain that He would disapprove every such war to-day ?

Pacifism as a national policy is impracticable in the world of to-day, if only because no nation is willing to adopt it. No one will deny that it is possible for individuals in any nation to refuse to take part in war, if they are prepared to suffer the consequences of refusal ; but the only pacifism which could keep a nation out of war would be pacifism adopted *as a national policy*, and much more than the sacrificial enthusiasm of individuals is required, before national pacifism could become practicable.

Pacifism is often professed by individuals who do not realise that a thorough-going pacifism involves not only the heroic—or unheroic—refusal to take part in war, but also persistent submission to aggression and violence and even to moral injury. The pacifist must not only refuse to follow the profession of a soldier, but must also refuse to offer armed resistance to the most unprovoked invasion of his own country. If a successful invader seize the reins of government—and what is to prevent

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an armed invader from doing so, if he is not resisted ? —the pacifist must submit to every indignity which triumphant malice can conceive and every injury which tyranny can inflict. The most extreme form of oppression cannot justify him in violent resistance or revolt, since these may lead to war. The pacifist must be prepared to endure—and to urge others to endure—the loss of personal and national liberty, the perversion of the youth of his nation by pernicious teaching, including the glorification of war, and even the encouragement of immoral practices in the community, the oppression of the Church, and the attempted extirpation of Christianity. The pacifist may indeed protest against such evils, if and while he is permitted to protest ; but he must speak no word and take no action which might encourage others to revolt or take up arms. Moreover, totalitarian states or despotic governments which give short shrift to protest or opposition from their own nationals would be unlikely to allow greater liberty to the citizens of a conquered or submissive nation. One may doubt whether any considerable number of individuals would profess pacifism, if they understood that it might involve such consequences. One may doubt even more strongly whether any considerable number of individuals would adhere to pacifism, if they found themselves, their kindred, and their fellow-citizens subjected to tyranny, political disability, moral injury, spiritual absolutism, and perpetual provocation.

Individual pacifism, the profession of pacifism by individuals, creates practical difficulties both for the individual pacifist and for the non-pacifist

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nation of which he is a citizen. So long as professing pacifists are few, the State may ignore them in time of peace and exempt them from military service in time of war ; but a considerable increase in their number in any nation might seriously affect both administration and government. If recruits should cease to offer themselves in sufficient numbers in this country, the voluntary system of military service could not continue. If pacifists became sufficiently numerous anywhere to make refusal effective, they might refuse to pay taxes for military expenditure or for the support of a State organised upon a military basis. The pacifist holds that his conscientious objections to military service must be respected ; but the non-pacifist may hold as strongly that the State has an indefeasible right to command military service from all its citizens in case of need, and that those who will not render such service should not retain the rights of citizenship, and should perhaps be exiled from the land they will not defend. In a world in which war is still a present danger, and aggression talks exceeding proudly, a growing pacifism must seem to the non-pacifist majority of any nation a growing menace to the State. Moreover, a situation which is difficult in time of peace would become impossible in time of war. A nation or its government may permit the unrestricted advocacy of pacifism in peacetime, even when the international situation is threatening, because it believes that freedom of speech is good and that attempts at repression would create worse evils than they tried to cure ; but no nation or government could continue such a policy after war had been declared. No govern-

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ment could then permit concerted action to discourage recruiting, to interfere with the provision of necessary supplies, to tamper with the loyalty of members of the fighting forces, or to hinder the prosecution of the war. Can the convinced pacifist who allows no limiting conditions of time or circumstance to interfere with his peremptory denunciation of war agree that it may be expedient for him to hold his peace or desist from public propagandism? If he may interrupt his advocacy of pacifism, why not his practice of pacifism? Can the conscientious pacifist consent to limit or abandon his pacifist activities in time of war? Can the non-pacifist State permit him to continue them?

Pacifists themselves have admitted¹ that the State, being non-Christian, may act more righteously by waging war in the cause of liberty and justice than by remaining inactive in the face of aggressive evil; but how can any nation wage war effectively, if a considerable number of its citizens refuse military service and put forth every effort to persuade their fellow-citizens to do the same? Pacifism, drawing a distinction between the Church and the Nation, admits that a nation may have a duty to meet aggression by violent resistance—*i.e.*, by war. Every nation is a body of citizens, among whom are found both Christians and non-Christians, non-pacifists and pacifists; and if the nation has a duty laid upon it, surely the Christian citizen ought to assist his nation to fulfil its duty. The pacifist, however, refuses to take part in war, even in a just cause, and to that extent he hinders his nation in the discharge of what he acknowledges to be its

¹ 'The Church's Attitude to Peace and War,' pp. 32, 33.

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duty. He endeavours to bring others to his own way of thinking, and the more successful he is in that endeavour, the less able his nation becomes to fulfil its acknowledged duty. He may even claim the right to advocate pacifism after his nation has gone to war in fulfilment of its acknowledged duty, and may thereby bring defeat not only upon his nation, but also upon the cause of liberty or justice, for the sake of which it went to war. The pacifist may say that such practical difficulties emerge only at the transition stage and will disappear when a sufficient number of persons or nations have been persuaded to adopt pacifism ; but there must be a Christian duty for the individual at every transition stage, and pacifism creates a hopeless conflict of duty for the Christian in the world of to-day. It suggests an impossible distinction between the Christian as a member of the Church and the Christian as a member of the Nation, as though the individual in one of these capacities could or must refuse the duty which is binding upon him in the other. The only way of escape from that conflict of duty is to hold that the Christian cannot discharge the full duties of earthly citizenship except in a perfect world, a conclusion which would give modern point to the old argument that Christianity is fundamentally anti-social.

It is conceivable that the majority of the citizens of some nation may one day be persuaded to profess pacifism. Would pacifism then become a practicable national policy for that nation ? That there would be among its citizens a considerable non-pacifist minority is practically certain. If that minority for any reason, creditable or discreditable, refused

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to accept the verdict of the polls or the decision of the majority, what would happen? The majority would, of course, be entitled, both legally and morally, to enforce its will; but how could it do so consistently with loyalty to the principles of pacifism? If the non-pacifist minority should take up arms and attempt to seize the reins of power, as might probably happen, how could the pacifist majority make its will effective? Those who had just solemnly protested that they would never fight in any cause could not consistently fight in defence of pacifism. Those who had declared that they would not lift hand or weapon against a foreign invader could not consistently take up arms against their fellow-countrymen. Those who denounced international war as legalised murder could not consistently support or justify civil war. What remedy would be open to the pacifist majority? It might adopt a policy of passive resistance to usurped power or practise civil disobedience. The ultimate results would be difficult to foretell, but the immediate result would not be the triumph of pacifism. A desperate minority or a revolutionary government would probably have a short and easy method of dealing with such dissenters. The pacifism of many professed pacifists might fail to stand the strain of disappointed hopes and violent opposition from a minority. Civil disturbance and confusion would certainly ensue, and civil war might be the outcome. Pacifism cannot even claim to be a practical policy for any nation, until it has won the intelligent and resolved support of much more than a simple majority of the citizens.

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Even if the further stage were reached, even if a great nation should resolve, in accordance with the decision of a considerable majority of its citizens and with the consent of the minority, to adopt pacifism as a national policy, and should utterly renounce war, the practical value of the policy would remain doubtful, until the actual results of the experiment could be ascertained. The initial improbability of the hypothesis remains, but one may assume that a powerful nation might so resolve. Only experience could show whether that nation would adhere to pacifism, if the experiment threatened to prove costly, and whether other nations would follow its example or gleefully seize the opportunity of aggression. Only a genuinely non-aggressive and peace-loving nation would dream of making such an experiment. No one can foretell how other nations would react to it. If Britain became pacifist to-day, would France or Germany or Italy or Russia or America or Japan disarm or become pacifist? If a majority of the powerful nations of the world espoused pacifism, would the minority which continued to despise pacifism refrain from violence and aggression? Helplessness is no safeguard for a nation. Peaceful persuasion is of no avail against an armed bully who will not listen to reason or heed righteousness. Even if the stage were reached at which national pacifism became practicable, because one nation was whole-heartedly prepared to practise it, pacifism might not prove to be a practical method of securing the results desired—viz., the peace of the world, the welfare of humanity, the development of the social order, and the advancement of the Kingdom of God.

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The results of the pacifist experiment might be disastrous, both materially and spiritually.

The majority of pacifists appear to be of opinion that pacifism cannot become a national policy in any nation, until the nation as a whole is ready to practise it whole-heartedly. Many people are of opinion that this antecedent condition will never be satisfied, and that the advocacy of pacifism is therefore a striving after wind, misleading in itself and mischievous in its effects. The majority even of pacifists will probably agree that the antecedent condition is unlikely to be satisfied in any nation in the near future. How, then, can the practice of individual pacifism as a present policy, together with the advocacy of national pacifism as a future policy, be regarded as an adequate contribution from any individual to the world's immediate needs? Even if pacifism is impracticable to-day for no better reason than that no nation is willing to practise it, its present impracticability remains. If the pacifist maintain that, irrespective of present conditions and the world's immediate needs, loyalty to Christ requires him to refuse participation of any kind in any war, howsoever occasioned, one must doubt the soundness of his interpretation of Christian duty; for his contention implies that the Christian cannot fulfil the duties of citizenship in a non-pacifist State, that the man who desires to live a full life here and now must renounce his Christian discipleship, and that Christianity is impracticable in an imperfect world—which is only a circuitous way of saying that Christianity is impracticable for men.

The non-pacifist has also his doctrine of the

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transition stage. He hopes and prays and labours for the coming of a day of universal peace, though he does not believe that it will come by way of pacifism. He believes that it may be the duty of a nation, as it may be the duty of an individual, to resist aggression, and that it is the duty of the Christian citizen to help his nation to fulfil its duty. He believes that national resistance to aggression, if it is to be effective, may involve war, and that unconditional refusal to participate in war is therefore wrong. He believes in peace, and he is willing to make sacrifices to secure and maintain peace; but he does not believe in submission to every act of aggression or in submission to every aggressor who makes war or threatens war. Therefore, while he advocates methods of conciliation and the use of every pacific method of resolving international quarrels or grievances, he lets it be known that he is prepared to offer steady resistance to aggression, and that in the last resort he will not shrink even from war. Until the world is ready for peace, the world is not ready for pacifism; and a world which was ready for pacifism would not require it, because in such a world there would be no aggression. Wars will cease only when strong peace-loving nations in sufficient number are prepared to take such effective concerted action against aggression that no would-be aggressor will dare to make war, only when the spirit of aggression has been finally overcome.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES OF PACIFISM.

PACIFISTS rebuke non-pacifists because they concern themselves so much about the 'probable consequences' of pacifism. Pacifists, however, lay great stress upon an argument derived from the consequences of war. Consequence is indeed a vital element in the ethical value of any action or policy, and inquiry into the probable consequences of pacifism is both reasonable and inevitable, when pacifism claims to be the way of righteousness alike for Christian and for non-Christian. In the absence of specific guidance about war in our Lord's recorded words and actions, and in the presence of fundamental differences of opinion as to the meaning of His teaching and example, what better can Christians do than make searching inquiry as to the consequences, ascertainable or probable, of both pacifism and non-pacifism?

The evil consequences of war are beyond dispute or doubt: wastage of life, destruction of wealth and beauty and humble homes, moral deterioration and spiritual injury to men, hurt to the cause of religion, hindrance to the advancement of God's Kingdom. But what would be the consequences

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of pacifism, whether individual or national? The pacifist asserts that at the worst they could never be so bad as the consequences of war; but that is mere assertion, unsupported by evidence. The pacifism which is advocated to-day is one which would prevent a nation from engaging in war of any kind: that is to say, it must be national pacifism, pacifism adopted as a national policy. Of such pacifism the world has had no experience, and any forecast of its probable consequences must be purely conjectural. What great nation in the plenitude of its power has ever resolved that it would offer no resistance to aggression, whether directed against itself or against a neighbour, or has proclaimed that it would never fight again in any cause, national or international? When did a powerful nation, well able to defend itself with good hope of success, disband its fleets and armies and submit unresistingly to the invasion of its territories, the spoliation of its goods, the overthrow of its institutions, and the loss of its liberties? That the thing will ever happen is in the last degree unlikely; but if it should happen, no one can predict with any assurance other than the assurance of ignorance what the immediate or ultimate consequences would be, either for the nation concerned or for the world at large.

Pacifism appears to advocate immediate unilateral disarmament by any Great Power which is prepared to take risks for Christ's sake, even while other Great Powers continue to rely upon armed might and some among them openly proclaim their belief in violence, aggression, and war. Pacifism appears to urge that no nation should defend itself by arms,

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however gross the aggression with which it is threatened and however grievous the injuries inflicted upon its life. One may doubt whether any nation is sufficiently Christian to rally or hold the majority of its people to such a policy *from Christian motives*. If, however, one assumes that this initial difficulty could be overcome, and asks what consequences might be expected to follow the adoption of pacifism, one receives very conflicting answers. Some pacifists assert that if a nation which had power to defend itself laid down its arms or refused to use them when attacked, the aggressor would pause conscience-stricken upon the very threshold of opportunity. Some assert that a nation which submitted to invasion would suffer neither spoliation nor enslavement. Others acknowledge that the most disastrous consequences would probably follow, but maintain that only through the willing sacrifice of a martyr nation can the world be redeemed from war. Some pacifists declare that when a sufficient number of individuals or a chosen nation is found ready to yield meekly to violence and to suffer the uttermost injury that evil can inflict, God will intervene in some dramatic way and so change the hearts of men and nations that wars will cease unto the ends of the earth.

The reply to such assertions and expectations is that no sufficient warrant for them can be found either in history or in the experience of the modern world. Isolated incidents may be adduced in their support—*e.g.*, ‘the holy experiment’ of William Penn—but the prevailing trend of history and the weight of evidence are against them. Both God’s will and God’s methods of operation are to some

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extent revealed in the experience of mankind. If the pacifist protest that no such experiment as he advocates has ever been made in the history of nations, that its consequences cannot be foretold, and that the Christian has no right to put limits to the power of God, one is entitled to reply that history has its lessons for the believer, that the non-pacifist's anticipation of the probable consequences of such an experiment is at least as likely to be correct as the pacifist's, and that what the non-pacifist questions is not the power of God, but the pacifist's interpretation of the will of God. The failures of the past ought not to deter men from fresh experiment and new adventure, and the horrors of war are grievous enough to justify venturesome experiment in the interests of peace; but little justification can be found for the belief that pacifism, as advocated to-day, would be a wise experiment. In the considered judgment of many responsible observers and statesmen of various countries, reduction of armaments by Britain, partial though it was, unhappily did weaken Britain's influence in the councils of the world, and did not make for the world's peace or for the welfare of small nations; and there is no reason to think that complete unilateral disarmament would have produced happier results. If it be said that faith must take risks and make ventures, one is entitled to reply that faith does not cease to be faith when it refuses to be blind. Faith has no right to close its mind to possibilities, but faith has no right to shut its eyes to facts.

The pacifist who condemns even defensive war, holding that any participation in war is for the

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Christian an 'act of sin,' must condemn all preparation for war and oppose enlistment. He ought to advocate the immediate disbandment of fleets and armies and complete unilateral disarmament. He ought in consistency to refuse to pay taxes for expenditure on the fighting forces or to accept employment which involves the manufacture of munitions of war. He ought perhaps to try to persuade members of the fighting forces to refuse service or lay down their arms, unless indeed he regards them as bound by their oath of allegiance ; but if military service is a sinful occupation for the Christian, ought a Christian to regard their oath as binding ? The pacifist who admits that it may be the duty of a nation to resist aggression by means of war must find it difficult to maintain that that duty can never by any possibility become obligatory upon his nation, and so upon himself as a member of the nation. The pacifist who admits that pacifism cannot become a practicable national policy anywhere, until it commands the approval of a majority of the nation concerned, may acquiesce in the continued existence of a military establishment and the enlistment of men for military service and the manufacture of munitions and the payment of taxes for military expenditure ; but this practical policy of acquiescence creates moral difficulties of its own. If he agrees that it may be the duty of his own nation to engage in war, is he justified in refusing to assist his nation to fulfil its duty ? If he holds that the higher obligation of loyalty to Christ forbids *him* to take any part in war, is he justified in acquiescing in the waging of war by others, even though their conscience be unen-

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lightened ? If he admits that for some men participation in war is still an act of virtue, because of the hardness of men's hearts, is he justified in holding that participation in war can never be virtuous for the Christian, while the hardness of men's hearts continues ?

Individual pacifism, the profession of pacifism by individuals, also creates practical difficulties for the non-pacifist State. In any democratic nation in which the majority of the citizens are non-pacifist the practice and advocacy of individual pacifism are liable to lead to civil commotion, national discord and disunity, the forcible repression of the pacifist minority or the collapse of administration and government. The break-down of civil government has always been followed by either anarchy or dictatorship, and sometimes by both, and both are inimical alike to liberty and to peace.

The pacifist should recognise that he makes large demands upon the tolerance of his non-pacifist fellow-citizens. He refuses to take any part in the military service which they regard as necessary. He advocates pacifism, which they regard as erroneous in itself and mischievous in its results. He condemns even defensive war, discourages military training or preparation, and creates divided counsels when national unity may be the condition of national safety and even of international peace. His activities threaten to leave the nation disarmed and defenceless, if war should come. He warns all whom it may concern that at no time will he take any part in war, howsoever it may arise. His fellow-citizens will be left to bear the hardships and meet the dangers by which his home and

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property may be protected, by which his own life and liberties and the life and liberties of those dear to him may be preserved ; but he will never consent to fight. It may be true that he does not desire military protection. It may be true that he has no desire to escape danger or hardship. It may be true that he is willing to suffer the loss of all things for conscience' sake. But the fact remains that others bear the present burden of preparation which he refuses to share, and that others may require to bear the future brunt of war which he vows that he will refuse to bear. Moreover, his non-pacifist fellow-countrymen, who may comprise the overwhelming majority of the nation, have no remedy against him, save the remedy of coercion or penalty, which they may be unwilling to employ. A pacifist minority could not be exiled from any country to-day, since no other country would receive it ; and the withdrawal of the rights of citizenship from any considerable minority of a nation would be a continuing source of national weakness as well as the negation of democracy.

The majority of pacifists seem to agree that pacifism cannot become a national policy in any nation, until it commands the approval of at least a majority of the citizens. Some pacifists would apparently endeavour to force their nation to renounce war against the will of the majority, for instance, by disorganising industry or reducing civil administration to confusion or sabotaging all military activity. Any form of national pacifism which could be established by such means, being simply a policy of 'No War,' would be neither Christian pacifism nor anything deserving the

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name of pacifism. The consequences of any such attempt by individuals or by a minority to force a policy of 'No War' upon a nation against its will would be the evil consequences of individual pacifism in an aggravated degree : moral confusion, civil disorder, national discord and weakness, and injury both to the cause of liberty and to the cause of peace, to which would in all probability be added the forcible repression of a pacifism whose adherents had shown themselves so disloyal to the root-principle of democracy. Pacifism indeed seems well qualified to destroy democracy in any state.

If a majority of the citizens of a nation should profess pacifism and endeavour to make it the working policy of the nation, what would follow ? If the non-pacifist minority refused to accept the decision of the majority, strife and confusion would result. If the non-pacifist minority endeavoured to seize the reins of government, one of two things would happen : the pacifist majority might submit to the violence of the minority, in which case pacifism would not be adopted as the national policy ; or the pacifist majority might endeavour to enforce its will upon the non-pacifist minority by violence, in which case even the pacifists would have forsaken pacifism. The pacifist majority might resolve to meet the violence of the minority with a policy of non-violent resistance, but the pacifism of many professed pacifists might fail to stand the strain of injustice and ill-treatment. Non-violent resistance is always apt to develop into violent resistance, and civil war would probably be the outcome.

Even if the further stage were reached, even if a powerful nation should resolve, in accordance

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with the decision of a substantial majority of its citizens and with the consent of the minority, to adopt pacifism as a national policy, and should utterly renounce war, the consequences would still remain doubtful. No one could have any assurance that any other powerful nation would then adopt pacifism. It would be strange if aggressive and unscrupulous nations which openly scoff at pacifism did not seize the opportunity to snatch personal advantage from a defenceless neighbour, or even to launch war's most fell attack upon a hated rival, whose wealth aroused their cupidity, and the majority of whose citizens had openly declared that they would never fight in any cause. Even if a majority of the great nations of the world should agree to profess and practise pacifism, the consequences might be still the same. The majority which espoused pacifism would be at the mercy of the minority which did not, and one pirate nation could despoil and oppress an unarmed world. Thus the outcome of the adventure or experiment of pacifism, launched with every good intention, might well be disastrous to the nation which made the experiment and injurious to the welfare of humanity.

Individual pacifists for the most part adopt pacifism upon moral and religious grounds, because they believe that pacifism is morally better than reluctant participation in war or because they believe that loyalty to Jesus Christ absolutely forbids participation in war: and for that very reason the practice of pacifism may bring them spiritual gain. Even if they are mistaken in their belief or their interpretation of Christian duty, they obey the voice of conscience and are willing

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to suffer loss for Christ's sake, and they do not lose the spiritual reward of faithfulness. In the very same way those who take up arms for conscience' sake, and endeavour to serve Christ upon the battlefield, may find their souls even amid the horrors of war and come forth from the furnace purified and ennobled. A pacifism prompted by worthy motives may work no injury to the soul of the individual pacifist, but a pacifism which had lost its Christian motive might be disastrous in its spiritual effects.

One of the counts in the indictment against war is that it stirs up the evil passions of anger and hatred and vengeance. But pacifism may do the same. If any nation should adopt pacifism, a non-pacifist minority would be found among its citizens. How bitterly would they resent forced submission to aggression! How bitterly would they resent what they would regard as the betrayal of the nation by their fellow-citizens! How bitterly would they resent the invasion of their country and the necessity of non-resistance and all the woes of oppression! How bitterly would they resent the loss of their heritage of freedom and the deadly injury which might result to their own nation or to the spiritual welfare of humanity! How fiercely would anger and hatred burn in their hearts, not only against the nation which did them wrong, but also against their fellow-countrymen! Moreover, there are small nations in the world to-day which are far from being pacifist, which cherish their independence and are ready to fight in defence of their country and their liberties, so long as they can fight with any hope of success. Their own

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strength and resources, however, are small, and they depend on the sympathy and support of powerful nations, like-minded with themselves. If, then, a powerful nation like Britain should become pacifist and declare that she would not fight again in any cause, either for her own defence or for the protection of others, would not these nations feel themselves betrayed? If in their weakness they resisted an aggressor, they would suffer the worst horrors of war, and war's worst passions would be kindled in their hearts. If they submitted to the threat of invasion or deforcement, would the passions of their hearts be less evil or less soul-destroying? War is condemned because it kills love or renders love impotent, because the soldier can feel no warm glow of affection towards his enemy, at least in the heat of battle, and can neither show him mercy nor treat him like a brother, until he surrenders; but what glow of warm affection can the ordinary citizen of a nation robbed and spoiled feel towards those who have despoiled his nation of independence, honour, and liberty? The enmities of war often die when war is over, but the enmities created by national oppression and injury live on from generation to generation. The moral evils which increase in time of war are for the most part sins of the flesh, sins of animal passion and intemperance and self-indulgence, sins of lawlessness and violence. Such evils are not likely to be aggravated by the profession of pacifism or even by forced submission to aggression or the loss of liberty. But one cannot think that unconditional submission to aggression is ethically higher than a submission conditioned and limited

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by the comprehensive requirements of the law of love. The worst crimes of violence and cruelty which history records have been produced by tyranny and repression and by the revolt of the human spirit against them. Submission to aggression is apt to breed slave morality, and slave morality does not rank high in the moral order. Freedom is the very breath of spiritual life. Those whom the world counts slaves may be the Lord's free men ; but the decay of political liberty has usually been followed by the decay of social virtue, and a nation ground under the heel of oppression may lose both faith and hope. Poets and moralists have extolled liberty as something essential to the development of the full stature of humanity, though pacifists seem to esteem it lightly. Whatever may be the spiritual effects of pacifism upon those who are constrained to its practice by conscientious and Christian conviction, its results might be disastrous to the spiritual welfare of the general body of a nation and to the general body of mankind. Submission to aggression for other than conscientious reasons is not good. Those who prefer comfort or safety or inglorious ease to the toils and dangers of heroic struggle for the defence of their own nation or the protection and deliverance of other nations are morally degenerate. Freedom of soul is necessary to spiritual life ; and if the individual can realise his highest possibilities only in the social order, he can realise them to the full only in a worthy social order. Perhaps the gravest objection to pacifism is that it may subject one nation or many nations to tyranny, and may deprive multitudes of their heritage of freedom. One wonders

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what type of humanity is being nurtured to-day in Russia and Germany and Italy. One wonders what might become of humanity if despotisms or dictatorships such as prevail in these countries should come to dominate the world.

It is true that our Lord Himself was a member of a subject nation and refused to ally Himself with those of His own nation who were prepared to fight for political independence. But many elements doubtless entered into the determination of His political action or inaction: the world conditions of His day, the overwhelming strength of Rome, the weakness and unworthiness of the Jewish nation, His own uniqueness and its obligations, His resolute concentration on the special work which God had given Him to do. It would be a very doubtful inference from His action and attitude that He wills all men everywhere to the end of time to accept the conditions which He accepted. He lived the perfect life and developed the perfect character despite political disabilities; and individual Christians who share His heroic and self-sacrificing spirit may triumph over adverse circumstances, as He did. To live the good life without liberty is, however, an achievement of the few. What is possible for rare souls is not possible for the multitude, or at least is not achieved by the multitude. Moreover, the political conditions of our time are very different from the political conditions of our Lord's time. To surrender a liberty which has been dearly won, not without toil and sacrifice and the shedding of blood, and has been long enjoyed, which develops character and makes for good citizenship and without which character

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and social virtue deteriorate, would be a crime. Individual pacifists, nerved by loyalty to conscience and to Christ, might keep their soul under despotism and seal their testimony by willing sacrifice. For the majority of any nation and for the mass of mankind submission to aggression would be forced, and the loss of liberty would mean moral and spiritual disaster. If it is any part of the duty of the Christian to try to establish the Kingdom of God on earth, he cannot be regardless of the political and social conditions under which men live. He must labour to secure such conditions as are most favourable to the development of faith and virtue, the upbuilding of Christian character, and the creation of a social order in which the will of the God of righteousness and love shall be done.

The nation which will not fight may escape war for a time ; but it may not succeed in escaping invasion, spoliation, impoverishment, enslavement. If a country were invaded by an aggressor, sporadic acts of violent resistance by individuals or by a section of the nation could hardly be prevented ; and these would almost certainly be made an excuse by the invader for savage vengeance or widespread devastation, in which the innocent would suffer with the guilty. It is vain to argue that an invader would not ruin a country which he hoped to possess and exploit ; for the nation which is prepared to force war upon the world to-day for its own ends is capable of any madness and any brutality. An aggressor might deliberately provoke resistance from a nation which had submitted, in order to find excuse for paying off old scores or letting loose the forces of savagery, so

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that future armed resistance might be made impossible or more difficult. Pacifism may postpone war without averting it. A strong nation which had refused to defend itself might find itself becoming so impoverished and oppressed that its citizens would be provoked to rise in arms, when conditions had become so disadvantageous for them as almost to preclude success. A strong nation which saved its own people from war, by allowing weak nations to be invaded and reduced to subjection under the threat of brute force or the reality of bloody slaughter, might see the aggressor encouraged to proceed from violence to violence, and enabled to build up for himself a position of military advantage in anticipation of the day when the patience of other nations would be outworn. Rival despotisms might find the world too small to contain them both, and in their clash the nations which had submitted to aggression in the hope of avoiding war might find themselves entangled. Even a strong nation may be confronted sooner or later with a situation in which it must defend itself or share the fate of the weak nations which it has allowed to be sacrificed. War does not end war, but pacifism does not end aggression. Submission to aggression may not avert war for any great length of time, and pacifism may fail even to preserve the world's peace.

It is part of the pacifist contention that 'the Cross makes peace'; and by 'the Cross' the consistent pacifist means, *inter alia*, submission to aggressive evil, non-resistance to violence, and refusal to defend one's own nation or to protect weak neighbour-nations by force of arms. It is, however, matter of common knowledge that Britain

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has kept the peace in India, for instance, largely by force of arms, where only the presence of the armed forces of Britain has prevented the outbreak of bloody civil war between Moslem and Hindu, and where the *use* of these armed forces has many a time stayed the hands of murder and put an end to merciless slaughter of the defenceless. In Palestine of late the remark has often been made by militant Arabs that if only the British forces would stand aside, there would soon be no Jewish problem in that land. Even to-day the casual visitor to Jerusalem can see soldiers or armed police on constant guard at danger spots like the Jews' Wailing Place, and the fact is incontestable that the campaign of violence and murder died down throughout the Holy Land in 1936, only when the British army had been strongly reinforced and was prepared to undertake large-scale operations. That campaign has now been revived; but who can think that safety or peace would be restored by the disarmament or withdrawal of the British troops?

If Britain, for instance, should become pacifist, would her venture of pacifism 'make peace' or deliver the world from war and its evils? The first result would probably be the dismemberment of the British Empire, since many of the Dominions would almost certainly secede. If the British Empire were dismembered, the influence of Britain in the counsels of the nations, which to-day is an influence in favour of peace, would at once be weakened or destroyed. Should Britain content herself with a declaration of pacifism, her sincerity would be disbelieved. Should she in evidence of sincerity proceed, as would indeed be logical, to disband her

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fleets and armies, with the exception of such forces as might be retained for 'police' purposes, peace would speedily vanish from many a region of the Empire. The forces of lawlessness and violence and ambition and racial hatred would see and seize their opportunity, and *they* would have no scruple about waging war. Even in our own land, with its long tradition of civil peace and liberty and justice, there are elements of disorder and violence which require to be controlled by the strong hand of the law. Even in our own land the baton of the policeman would be powerless, were it not known that in the last resort it has behind it the rifle of the soldier. To-day in many parts of the Empire peace is preserved only by the presence of what are in effect 'armed police forces,' and they keep the peace simply because those who would make dispeace know that all the power of an armed Empire is behind its representatives. If Britain should declare herself pacifist, these armed police forces would lose both their power and the authority which power gives. If they were disarmed, they would be unable to prevent bloodshed. If they were not withdrawn, they would probably be massacred. And in many a land violence, murder, riot, and civil war would ensue.

Recent events have illustrated pacifism in action. Italy threatened Abyssinia, and Japan threatened China. No Great Power would intervene to oppose invasion by force or to protect the threatened nations. Each Great Power feared to bring war upon the world or upon itself, because of war's disastrous consequences for trade and industry and national stability and social order. The League

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of Nations failed to take effective action, even though all the nations concerned were members of the League, because the Great Powers could not trust one another or were not willing to risk war and its possible complications. Abyssinia resisted Italy, doubtless hoping for aid from the League of Nations, and her resistance was crushed by the use of aeroplanes and tanks and poison gas. China resisted Japan, and still maintains a resistance which has surprised the world. The other nations would not even threaten war, and their protests were unheeded. So war came on Abyssinia and China. Certainly if China and Abyssinia had practised pacifism, they would not have suffered war, whatever else they suffered. The other nations practised pacifism of a kind: they refused to fight; and the results have been disastrous to Abyssinia and China, and may yet be disastrous to mankind. This was only pacifism of a kind, imperfect in spirit and limited in scope, only partial pacifism; but any pacifism which can be accounted practicable for this generation seems unlikely to be more than partial. If the nations of Europe had been in a position to support China with their fleets and armies, Japan might not have ventured to attack China. If the other nations of Europe had warned Italy that the invasion of Abyssinia would be followed by a declaration of war against her, Italy might not have taken the risk which she judged it safe to take. Partial pacifism in practice, the pacifism practised by one nation or by a limited number of nations, does not protect small nations or save the world from war.

The declared unwillingness of many nations and

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statesmen, including our own, during recent years, to take any action which would increase the risk of war has not prevented the leaders of other nations from the oppression of weak neighbours, the invasion and annexation of their territories, and the slaughter of their people. It is very doubtful if Christians in this country serve either the cause of peace or the larger cause of Christ by proclaiming that in no circumstances will they be participators in or helpers of war. If conviction lays it as a burden upon their conscience to make such a declaration, one cannot bid them hold their peace; but conscience may be instructed or uninstructed, wise or foolish. Fallible men are no more perfect in understanding than in virtue. The pacifist declares that he will lend no help of any kind in any future war in which his country may be involved, and labours to increase the number of those who will take their stand beside him. He claims liberty of conscience and freedom of speech, though he acknowledges that his actions may imperil the safety of his country and injure the material welfare of those who do not share his convictions. He proclaims his invincible antagonism to war and his eager desire to do something to preserve the world's peace and to protect mankind from the horrors and abominations of war. But what are likely to be the actual consequences of his action? He may simply encourage ambitious or aggressive statesmen in other nations to risk adventures against the peace and liberties of mankind. The nations that delight in war are delighted to think that they can count upon divided counsels in a genuinely peace-loving nation. The nations which glorify war would rejoice, could they believe

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that a substantial number of the citizens of any other nation had resolved to refuse military service under all circumstances. They would rejoice to know that any considerable number of Britons had pledged themselves to put forth every effort to prevent Britain from taking part even in a war of self-defence or from lending military aid to any other nation which, after vain appeal to reason, justice, treaty pledges, and international law, should take up arms to resist confessedly unjustifiable invasion or to secure the liberties which alone make life worth living. Pacifist protestations do not, in fact, serve the cause of peace.

Christian pacifists summon the Church of Christ, and presumably all nations, to the solemn profession of pacifism, as to a great act of faith and obedience ; but pacifism as a national policy is impracticable until some nation is prepared to adopt it. Why, then, should the Church call upon the Christians in any nation to assume that things are as they are not ? If pacifism as a national policy is ever to be tried out by experiment, the experiment will require to be made by one nation or by a limited number of nations, taking grave risks ; and no man knows what the consequences would be. God can work miracles by means of consecrated men and women, and the whole world situation might be changed by a great act of faith and obedience on the part of a sacrificial Nation or a sacrificial Church. God can make all things new, and the hope of humanity is bound up with belief in the renewing power of the Spirit of God upon human hearts and consciences. But reasonable men must consider probabilities as well as possibilities, in the light

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of experience and history; and when the consequences of recent experiments in partial pacifism threaten to be morally and spiritually disastrous, non-pacifists are confirmed in their belief that pacifism is fundamentally wrong and that the adoption of pacifism, so far from being a great act of faith and obedience, would be a profound mistake. The Christian pacifist, being convinced that pacifism is a part of Christian duty, urges all Christians to practise pacifism and leave the consequences to God's disposing. The Christian non-pacifist, being unconvinced that pacifism is in accordance with the will of God, tries to discern its probable consequences; and when he finds these to be evil, he is the more persuaded that pacifism is not in accordance with the will of the All-good and the All-loving.

There is much to be said in favour of the contention that the cause of peace would be better served to-day if the governments of powerful nations like our own, instead of proclaiming that the chief object of their policy is to avoid war, would plainly define the causes for which they are prepared to take up arms, and would intimate to all the world that, while they desire peace and will earnestly seek to ensure it, for these causes they will ask their people to fight, even to the death. Such an intimation would not involve any departure from the ideals of the League of Nations or the principles of the Kellogg Pact. It would not involve any slackening in the endeavour to secure the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, by mutual agreement or by the arbitrament of an international court, and to

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remove the causes of suspicion, jealousy, misunderstanding, and dispeace. Britain should adhere to her renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy—which, it should perhaps be noted, does not involve the renunciation of war as an instrument of national defence. She should re-assert her willingness to enter into international conference regarding such vexed questions as the revision of treaties, colonial possessions, access to raw materials and trade policy, and her willingness to seek reasonable solutions for the world's problems and grievances and pressing difficulties, in the solution of which the key of peace may be discovered. If Britain could convince the world that her policy is not one of peace at any price, that her people will fight, if the occasion arise, not only in self-defence against the invasion of their shores or the invasion of their liberties, but also in loyalty to the obligations of and in concert with a sufficient League of Nations for the protection of weak nations and the observance of international law, more might be accomplished for the cause of peace than if all the pacifists in the world proclaimed that they would never lift a weapon or take part in war.

CHAPTER X.

A TRUE ANALOGY.

PACIFISTS insist that war must be differentiated from "the possible moral use of force," and that between the two there is no real analogy, so that to argue from the justification of the moral use of force to the justification of war, especially modern war, with all its devilish ingenuity of invention, its wealth of horrors, its wastefulness, and its disastrous moral and religious consequences, is unreasonable and unconvincing and absurd. The relevance of the argument must, however, be insisted upon, in relation to the pacifist position *as that is usually stated*. If pacifism bases its absolute condemnation and renunciation of war upon the horrors of modern war and upon the material waste and the moral evils which accompany it, a clear issue is raised. The question then becomes one of comparative values, and some may argue that a dishonourable peace is less disastrous and less evil than a just war, even a war of self-defence or resistance to immoral aggression. Pacifism, however, usually bases its absolute condemnation and renunciation of war upon appeal to our Lord's teaching, to the so-called Christian principle of

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non-resistance, to the example of our Lord's personal practice, and to what pacifists call "the redemptive way of the Cross." It then rests its argument, not so much upon the horrors of war, as upon the view that non-resistance is a Christian principle; that the exhortation to non-resistance in the Sermon on the Mount is a precept to be literally obeyed by all loyal and consistent Christians; that "the redemptive method of meeting evil"—*i.e.*, the method of Christ upon the Cross—is the only truly Christian method of 'meeting' it; that in Jesus Christ "punitive justice, which merely restrains evil, is supplanted"—note that the word is 'supplanted,' not supplemented or fulfilled—"by active love which redeems the evil will"; that "the way of the Cross is the only truly Christian reaction to evil." In that case it becomes wholly relevant to examine our Lord's attitude both to the non-military use of force and to the profession of the soldier. It becomes wholly relevant to inquire whether non-resistance is an ethical principle, according to the teaching of our Lord; whether the precept of non-resistance in the Sermon on the Mount is one which expects and requires literal obedience from all Christians; whether the so-called "redemptive method of meeting evil" or "redemptive way of the Cross" is the only truly Christian method of meeting evil—note again that the phrase used is 'meeting evil,' not 'overcoming evil'; and whether "the way of the Cross," which on the negative side is non-resistance, is "the only truly Christian reaction to evil." If it can be established, or even shown to be probable, that our Lord did not condemn, but accepted and even

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approved, the non-military use of force. and the use of punitive methods in the administration of justice and the enforcement of law and order in society and the maintenance of an armed force, then the rigid or extreme pacifist position is undermined and in effect destroyed.

The pacifist group in the Church of Scotland Committee did not, as a group, challenge "the moral use of force." The pacifist who condemns every form of violent resistance to aggression, and denies that there is such a thing as a Christian use of physical force in restraint of evil and evil-doers, may consistently argue that the Cross—or Christ's example on the Cross—absolutely forbids the Christian to take part in war; but the pacifist who does not challenge the moral use of force cannot condemn war simply on the ground that it involves the use of violence. If "the redemptive way of the Cross" does not forbid the moral use of force in the sphere of civil administration, for instance, for the restraint of aggressors or the punishment of evil-doers, then the "redemptive way of the Cross" does not *per se* forbid participation in war.

The pacifist may still maintain that the use of force in war can never be moral or Christian, because it is indiscriminate. The objection, however, is not so substantial as it may at first sight appear. Among the many millions of the human race there are comparatively few persons with whom any individual can enter into close personal relationship or for whom he can feel warm personal affection. In time of war the individual member of an enemy nation is regarded simply as one of a multitude,

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but the same is true of the overwhelming majority of the members of one's own nation in time of peace. The capacity of the human heart for love, in the form of warm affection, is very limited in range. The real evil in time of war is not that one cannot regard the enemy soldier or citizen as an individual, with all an individual's rights, but rather that one cannot regard or treat him as a brother. This is one of the inevitable evil results of war, though frequently it is only a temporary result, which passes away when war comes to an end. Moreover, the law of solidarity applies to the nation, as it does to every other form of human society or social organism. "Whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it." "One soweth, and another reapeth." In so far as war is a conflict of nations, the nation must be regarded as a unit, whatever mercy or compassion may be shown to its individual members.

The pacifist may also draw a distinction between an armed police force and an army, holding that the former can carry on its operations without indiscriminate violence and slaughter. But the enforcement of law and order by an armed police force may develop into civil war and even into international war. If the disturbers of the peace are sufficiently numerous and can secure military equipment and arms, the conflict which ensues is hardly distinguishable from a modified form of war. What is to happen in such a case? Is the nation as a whole to submit to lawlessness and anarchy? Is the police force to be disarmed? Is it to be withdrawn? Is it to abandon the effort to restore order? And who is to decide at what

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point action by an armed police force ceases to be civil or political and becomes military? or at what point the use of arms, which was legitimate for the Christian as a policeman, becomes illegitimate for him as a soldier? An armed body of police may be less indiscriminate in its use of force than an army; but so long as the opposition stands to arms, even a police force cannot discriminate between one combatant and another.

The pacifist group in the Church of Scotland Committee made two admissions which are fatal to the fundamental pacifist position. The group admitted that to resist evil with violence is morally better than to take no action against it, and that a nation, being non-Christian, as every nation is in the strict sense of the word non-Christian to-day, has a duty to meet aggression by the best means known to it—*i.e.*, by the use of violent resistance, and possibly even by war. The group also admitted that it may be consistent with Christian principle and practice to maintain an armed police force, which, being armed, is presumably justified in using its arms upon due occasion. When the Christian pacifist makes these admissions, he virtually concedes all for which the Christian non-pacifist has contended in this long debate. The Christian non-pacifist is no advocate of war. The pacifism which he feels compelled to oppose is that thorough-going pacifism which denies that there is a moral or Christian use of physical force in resistance to aggression and absolutely condemns and renounces participation in war, howsoever war may arise and in whatsoever cause a man may be called upon to fight. The contention of the Christian

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non-pacifist is not that war is good or that war is ever desirable or that war is inevitable. His contention is that in certain conceivable and possible circumstances participation in war may be the best course of action open to a nation and to its Christian citizens. He holds that it is not consistent with Christian responsibility and obligation to rule out participation in war on purely theoretical grounds, or to bind oneself to refuse to take part in war without regard to existing world conditions and immediate needs. He maintains that the Christian is entitled, and is indeed in Christian duty bound, to hold himself free to decide whether, in view of all the circumstances in which any war arises, participation in that particular war is for him justifiable or unjustifiable, right or wrong, unchristian or Christian.



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